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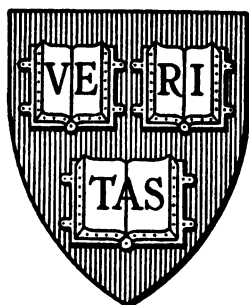
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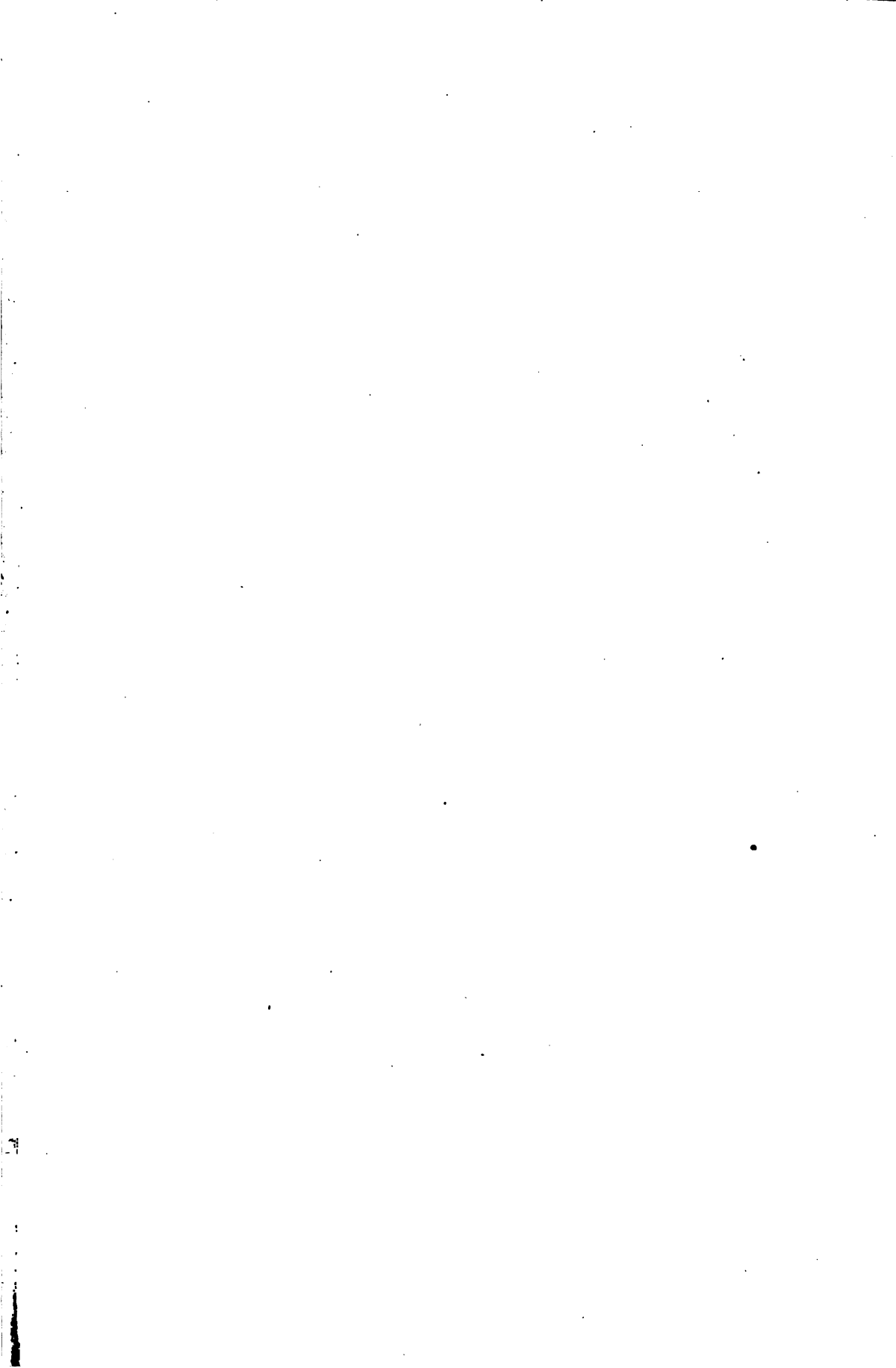
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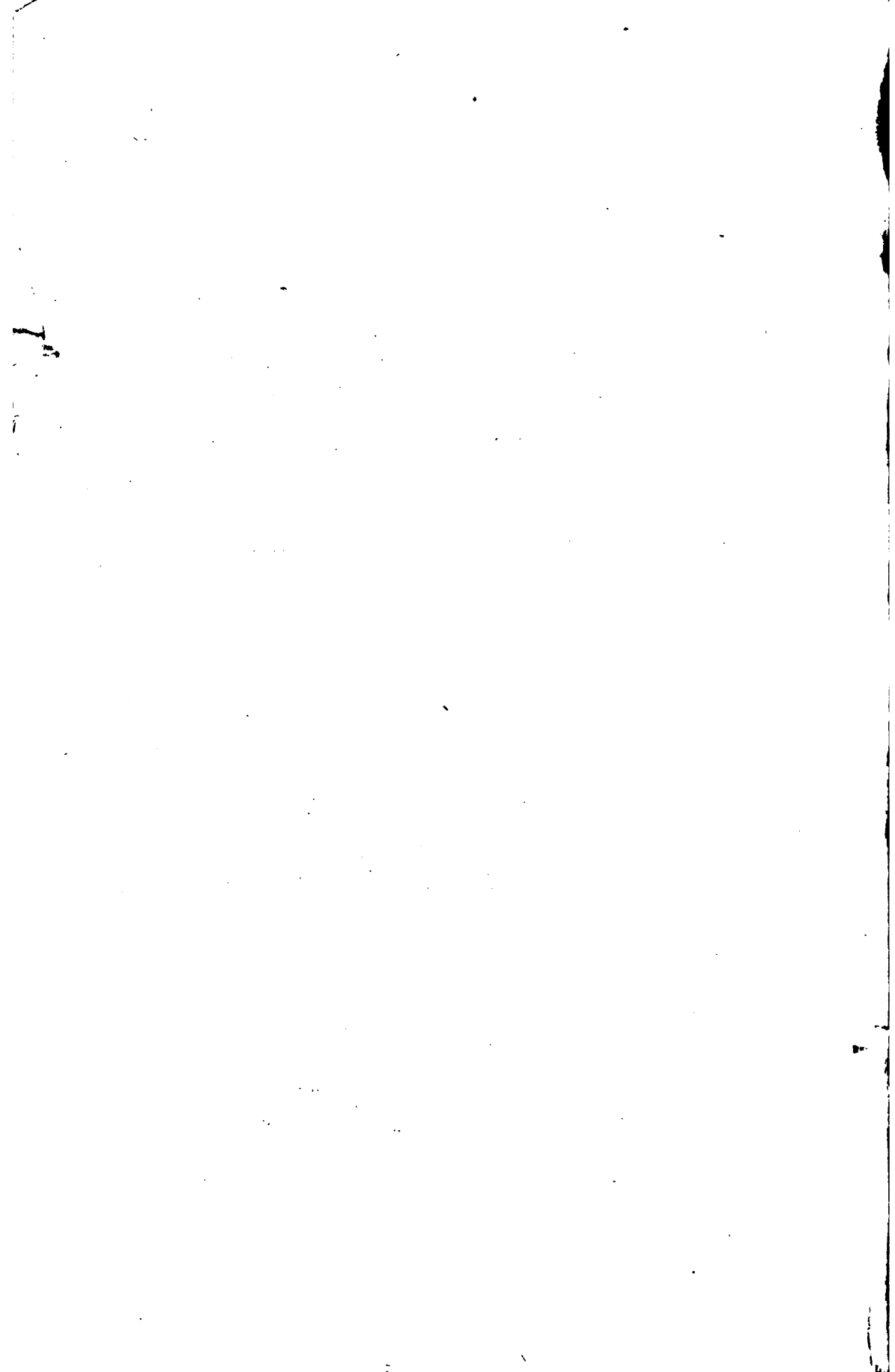
AMERICAN CONFERENCE

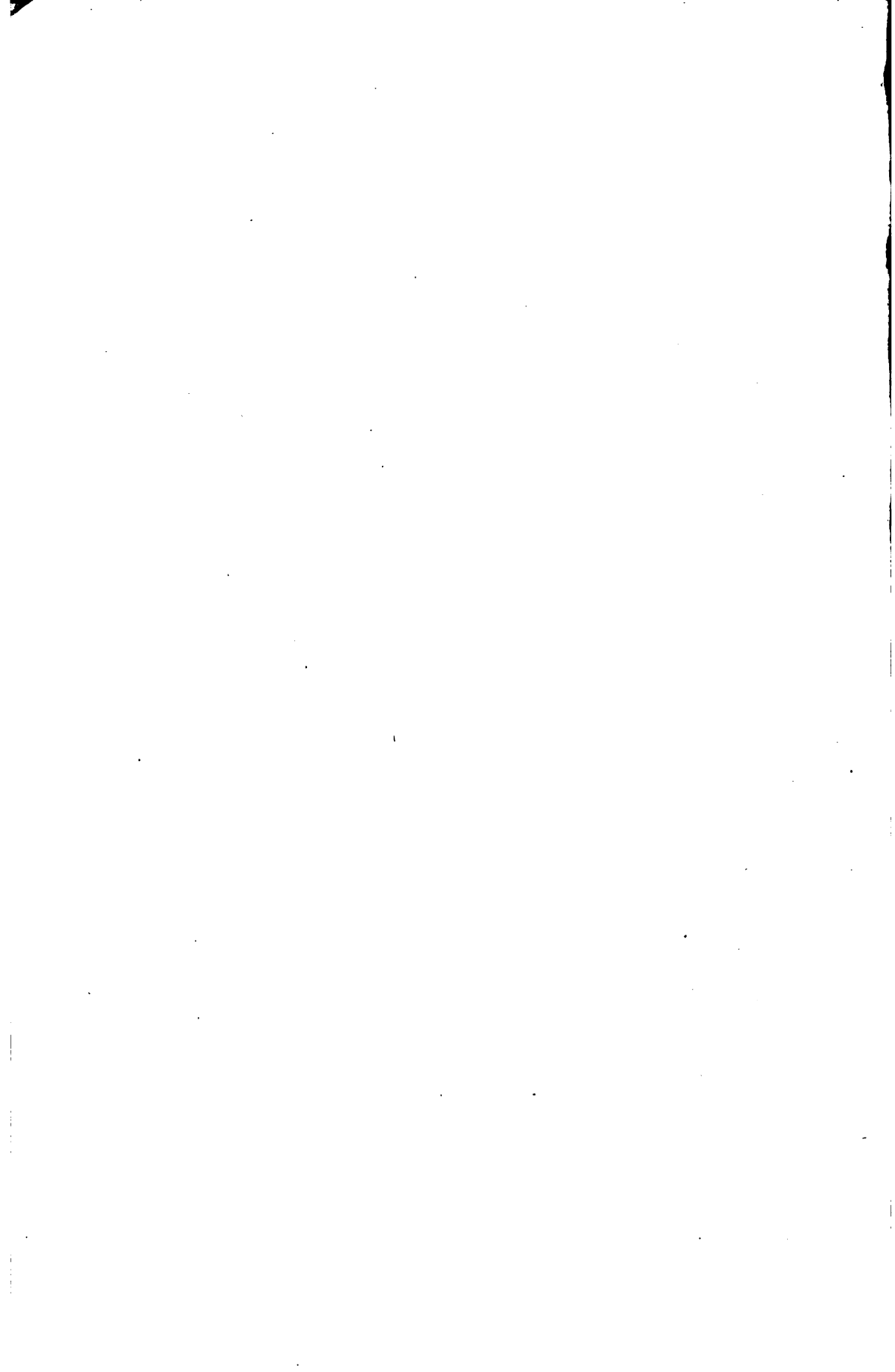
ON

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

1904





THE SECOND
AMERICAN CONFERENCE
ON
INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

HELD IN
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANUARY 12, 1904.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
GIBSON BROS., PRINTERS AND BOOKBINDERS
1904

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THE VIEWS OF PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

HARRISON.

President Harrison, in transmitting to Congress, September 3, 1890, the arbitration treaties of the American Conference, said :

"The ratification of the treaties contemplated by these reports will constitute one of the happiest and most hopeful incidents in the history of the Western Hemisphere."

CLEVELAND.

President Cleveland, in transmitting the arbitration treaty of 1897 to the Senate, said :

"Its success ought not to be doubtful, and the fact that its ultimate ensuing benefits are not likely to be limited to the two countries immediately concerned should cause it to be promoted all the more eagerly."

McKINLEY.

In his inaugural address, President McKinley referred to the treaty of 1897 as follows :

"The importance and moral influence of the ratification of such a treaty can hardly be overestimated in the cause of advancing civilization. It may well engage the best thought of the statesmen and people of every country, and I cannot but consider it fortunate that it was reserved to the United States to have the leadership in so grand a work."

ROOSEVELT.

In his annual message of 1903, President Roosevelt made the following reference to the resort of the nations to The Hague Tribunal on the Venezuela question :

"Such an imposing concourse of nations presenting their arguments to and invoking the decision of that high court of international justice and international peace can hardly fail to secure a like submission of many future controversies. The nations now appearing there will find it far easier to appear there a second time, while no nation can imagine its just pride will be lessened by following the example now presented. This triumph of the principle of international arbitration is a subject of warm congratulation, and offers a happy augury for the peace of the world."

WORDS OF GENERALS WASHINGTON, GRANT AND SHERIDAN.

WASHINGTON.

In his Farewell Address, Washington said :

“Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by steady adherence to it?”

GRANT.

In a letter to the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia, in December, 1879, General Grant wrote :

“Although educated and brought up as a soldier, and probably having been in as many battles as anyone, certainly as many as most people could have been, yet there was never a time nor a day when it was not my desire that some just and fair way should be established for settling difficulties, instead of bringing innocent persons into conflict, and thus withdrawing from productive labor able-bodied men who, in a large majority of cases, have no particular interest in the subject for which they are contending. I look forward to a day when there will be a court established that shall be recognized by all nations, which will take into consideration all differences between nations and settle by arbitration or decision of such court these questions.”

SHERIDAN.

In a speech made at the centennial banquet in Philadelphia, Pa., on September 17, 1887, General Sheridan said :

“There is one thing that you should appreciate, and that is the improvement in guns and in the material of war, in dynamite and other explosives, and in breech-loading guns, is rapidly bringing us to a period when war will eliminate itself, when we can no longer stand up and fight each other in battle, and when we will have to resort to something else.

“Now what will that something else be? It will be arbitration. I mean what I say when I express the belief that if any one now present here could live until the next centennial he would find that arbitration ruled the world.”

INTRODUCTION.

On April 22d and 23d, 1896, a Conference on International Arbitration was held in the city of Washington. The object of this Conference was to promote the establishment of a permanent system of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. A full report of these meetings was published under the title—"THE AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22D AND 23D, 1896."*

The Resolutions adopted by this Conference, composed of nearly three hundred prominent men from all parts of the United States, were presented to President Cleveland and to the Secretary of State, Mr. Olney, by whom they were received in a spirit of hearty approval and sympathy.

Following this action taken by the Conference, a treaty was signed January, 1897, between the United States and Great Britain, calling for a permanent and obligatory system of arbitration between those two nations.

The National Arbitration Committee, which, as a permanent body, had been appointed at the Conference, thereupon sent out the following inquiry: "May we quote you as standing with ourselves in favor of the ratification of the arbitration treaty without amendment?" The list of men to whom this inquiry was sent was prepared without reference to their supposed views on the subject of arbitration, but because they were believed to be among the most intelligent and influential in their respective States. Out of one thousand and two replies, ninety-three per cent. expressed their preference for the treaty unamended, and of the remaining seven per cent., only twelve expressed themselves as opposed to arbitration, or 1.18 per cent. of the entire number. These opinions were embodied in a Memorial laid before the Senate of the United States. The treaty failed of ratification in the Senate, the majority falling short by four votes of the requisite two-thirds.

*Baker and Taylor Co., E. 16th St., New York.

No further definite action was taken by the National Committee until November 19, 1903. Upon that date a meeting of its Executive Committee was held in New York when it was decided to call together the National Committee to a meeting to be held in Washington on the January twelfth following. It was further decided to issue invitations to prominent citizens throughout the country to join in this proposed meeting. A circular was accordingly mailed to those whose attendance was requested, with an accompanying letter signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Executive Committee.

The first meeting was held at 10 o'clock A. M., January 12th, at the New Willard Hotel, and the second meeting in the afternoon of the same day, at the Lafayette Theatre. These two meetings, therefore, constitute the second session of the American Conference on International Arbitration.



Among the members of the National Committee deceased since the first Conference were William E. Dodge, of New York, Chairman, and Gardiner G. Hubbard, Chairman of the Washington Committee, the two citizens of the United States most prominent in the advocacy of international arbitration. "They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."



NATIONAL ARBITRATION COMMITTEE, 1896.

- *Hon. William E. Dodge, *Chairman*.
Prof. John B. Moore, LL. D., *Secretary*,
Columbia University, New York City.
- *Hon. Henry Hitchcock, Missouri.
Horace Davis, Esq., California.
Hon. Carl Schurz, New York.
Hon. John W. Foster, Washington, D. C.
Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington, D. C.
W. A. Fuller, Esq., Illinois.
Dr. L. T. Chamberlain, New York.
John H. Converse, Esq., Pennsylvania.
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, Connecticut.
- *Dr. William C. Gray, Illinois.
Hon. Lyman J. Gage, Illinois.
Provost Charles C. Harrison, LL. D., Pennsylvania.
- *Hon. William E. Dodge, New York.
Hon. Charles E. Fenner, Louisiana.
Hon. William H. Taft, Ohio.
Herbert Welsh, Esq., Pennsylvania.
- *Hon. George A. Pillsbury, Minnesota.
Hon. Moorefield Storey, Massachusetts.
- *Hon. D. M. Key, Tennessee.
George L. Rives, Esq., New York.
Pres. Charles W. Eliot, LL. D., Massachusetts.
- *Hon. Gardiner G. Hubbard, Washington, D. C.
Prof. John B. Moore, New York.
- *Chapcellor A. T. McGill, New Jersey.
H. Fleming DuBignon, Esq., Georgia.
Hon. Alexander P. Humphrey, Kentucky.
Edward Atkinson, Esq., Massachusetts.
Hon. Josiah Crosby, Maine.
Hon. Oscar R. Hundley, Alabama.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1904.

- John W. Foster, Washington.
- L. T. Chamberlain, New York.
- Carl Schurz, New York.
- George L. Rives, New York.
- John B. Moore, Columbia University.
- Simeon E. Baldwin, Connecticut.
- James B. Angell, Michigan University.
- John Crosby Brown, New York.
- Thomas Nelson Page, Washington, *Secretary*.

* Deceased.

CIRCULAR ADDRESSED TO THOSE INVITED TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 4, 1903.*

As the result of the large and representative Conference of the friends of International Arbitration held in Washington in 1896, a treaty for the adjustment of all questions between the United States and Great Britain, not susceptible of diplomatic settlement, was signed in January, 1897, by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote. That treaty failed of ratification by the Senate of the United States by a close vote.

Since that event two questions have been disposed of which had a material influence upon the action of the Senate—the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the Alaskan Boundary. Another important event has occurred which has greatly strengthened the cause of International Arbitration—the Peace Congress of the nations of the world of 1899 and the creation by it of the permanent tribunal of arbitration at The Hague. In view of these facts and of the recent successful achievements of International Arbitration, there is a wide-spread sentiment throughout our country that a renewed effort should be made to secure the adoption of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, by which these two nations would agree to resort to The Hague Tribunal in a certain class of cases under specified conditions.

At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Washington Conference of 1896, held in New York City, it was decided to call a meeting of the National Committee of that Conference in Washington, D. C., at 10 o'clock A. M., on Tuesday, January 12, 1904, to take this subject into consideration. The names of the National Committee will be found at the head of this circular. In addition thereto the Executive Committee have decided to invite to the meeting on January 12, 1904, a number of other prominent citizens from different parts of the country, to act as advisory members, and thereby have an increased representation of the popular sentiment of the nation on this important subject.

The Executive Committee respectfully urge the friends of International Arbitration throughout the United States to exert themselves to secure the attendance of influential and representative citizens at the Washington Conference.

JOHN W. FOSTER,

CARL SCHURZ,

L. T. CHAMBERLAIN,

GEORGE L. RIVES,

JOHN B. MOORE,

JAMES B. ANGELL,

JOHN CROSBY BROWN,

Executive Committee.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE ARBITRATION
CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON,
JANUARY 12, 1904.

Whereas by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States, adopted in 1890, the President was requested to invite negotiations with other governments to the end that any differences which could not be adjusted by diplomacy might be referred to arbitration and peaceably adjusted by such means, and the British House of Commons in 1893 adopted a resolution expressing cordial sympathy with this purpose, as well as the hope that the British government would lend its ready co-operation to the government of the United States to the end that the resolution of Congress might be made effective; and

Whereas since that time, as the result of an international conference, a permanent court of arbitration has been established at The Hague, to which nations may voluntarily resort for the peaceful settlement of their differences; and

Whereas it is the opinion of this Conference that the government of the United States, in view of its historical position and of the great results accomplished by means of arbitration, should continue to further and to support every movement to establish by peaceful means the reign of law and justice among nations:

Resolved, That it is recommended to our government to endeavor to enter into a treaty with Great Britain to submit to arbitration by the permanent court at The Hague, or, in default of such submission, by some tribunal specially constituted for the case, all differences which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation;

Resolved, That the two governments should agree not to resort in any case to hostile measures of any description till an effort has been made to settle any matter in dispute by submitting the same either to the permanent court at The Hague or to a commission composed of an equal number of persons from each country, of recognized competence in questions of international law.

It is further Resolved, That our government should enter into treaties to the same effect, as soon as practicable, with other powers.

LIST OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE ARBITRATION CONFERENCE, JANUARY 12, 1904.

Joshua L. Bailey, Philadelphia, Pa.
B. N. Baker, Baltimore, Md.
Wm. P. Bancroft, Wilmington, Del.
Thomas Barclay, London, England.
Richard Bartholdt, St. Louis, Mo.
R. T. Barton, Ireland.
Chas. J. Bell, Washington, D. C.
John Biddle, Washington, D. C.
William H. Blymyer, New York, N. Y.
W. J. Boardman, Washington, D. C.
George W. Breckenridge, San Antonio, Texas.
W. H. Buckler, Baltimore, Md.
John A. Butler, Milwaukee, Wis.
Chas. Henry Butler, Washington, D. C.
John Cadwalader, Philadelphia, Pa.
Samuel B. Capen, Boston, Mass.
Andrew Carnegie, New York, N. Y.
Wm. M. Carroll, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Thos. N. Carter, Richmond, Va.
Arabella Carter, Philadelphia, Pa.
L. T. Chamberlain, New York, N. Y.
George W. Clinton, Charlotte, N. C.
Henry E. Cobb, Newton, Mass.
William J. Coombs, Brooklyn, N. Y.
W. V. Cox, Washington, D. C.
Joseph G. Darlington, Philadelphia, Pa.
Horace Davis, San Francisco, Cal.
Frederico Degetau, Porto Rico.
J. M. Dickinson, Chicago, Ill.
Winfield T. Durbin, Indianapolis, Ind.
John Joy Edson, Washington, D. C.
A. B. Farquhar, York, Pa.
Stuyvesant Fish, New York, N. Y.

J. T. Flynn, Seattle, Wash.
Jos. R. Foard, Baltimore, Md.
John Foord, New York, N. Y.
John W. Foster, Washington, D. C.
Volney W. Foster, Chicago, Ill.
John Fox, New York, N. Y.
Robert Samuel Freidman, New York, N. Y.
Edward M. Gallaudet, Washington, D. C.
Philip C. Garrett, Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Md.
Merrill E. Gates, Washington, D. C.
James, Cardinal Gibbons, Baltimore, Md.
John I. Gilbert, Malone, N. Y.
Daniel C. Gilman, Washington, D. C.
Edwin Ginn, Boston, Mass.
Samuel Gompers, New York, N. Y.
John Gordon, Washington, D. C.
John F. Goucher, Baltimore, Md.
George Gray, Wilmington, Del.
A. W. Greely, Washington, D. C.
Samuel H. Greene, Washington, D. C.
Frank W. Hackett, Washington, D. C.
Edward E. Hale, Washington, D. C.
Teunis S. Hamlin, Washington, D. C.
Addison C. Harris, Indianapolis, Ind.
Edward F. Harris, Galveston, Texas.
Lynde Harrison, New Haven, Conn.
Wm. S. Harvey, Philadelphia, Pa.
J. B. Henderson, Washington, D. C.
A. Foster Higgins, New York, N. Y.
Hamilton Holt, New York, N. Y.
Archibald Hopkins, Washington, D. C.
James H. Hopkins, Washington, D. C.
Osborne Howes, Boston, Mass.
David Hutzler, Baltimore, Md.
Michael Jenkins, Baltimore, Md.
B. F. Johnson, Washington, D. C.
W. Martin Jones, Rochester, N. Y.
Chas. H. Jones, New York, N. Y.

David Starr Jordan, Stanford University, California.
Jeremiah Keck, Johnstown, N. Y.
Wm. Keyser, Baltimore, Md.
Mahlon N. Kline, Philadelphia, Pa.
S. P. Langley, Washington, D. C.
Robert Lansing, Watertown, N. Y.
John B. Larner, Washington, D. C.
Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Baltimore, Md.
David H. Lawrence, Two Harbors, Minn.
Francis E. Leupp, Washington, D. C.
Eugene Levering, Baltimore, Md.
W. H. Love, Baltimore, Md.
A. Maurice Low, New York, N. Y.
David Mitchell MacCracken, New York, N. Y.
Henry B. F. Macfarland, Washington, D. C.
Wayne MacVeagh, Pennsylvania.
Jos. K. McCammon, Washington, D. C.
William O. McDowell, Newark, N. J.
Jerome F. Manning, Lowell, Mass.
Theodore Marbury, Baltimore, Md.
P. H. Mayo, Richmond, Va.
Nelson A. Miles, Washington, D. C.
C. R. Miller, New York, N. Y.
Chas. W. Needham, Washington, D. C.
T. J. O'Brien, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Thos. Nelson Page, Washington, D. C.
Robert Treat Paine, Boston, Mass.
Stanton J. Peelle, Washington, D. C.
W. P. Potter, Pittsburg, Pa.
Fred. Perry Powers, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wm. L. Prather, Austin, Texas.
Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, D. C.
Blanchard Randall, Baltimore, Md.
Thomas D. Ranson, Staunton, Va.
George L. Rives, New York.
Edward Rosewater, Omaha, Neb.
Wm. Jay Schieffelin, New York, N. Y.
Harold M. Sewall, Bath, Me.
Frederick W. Seward, Montrose-on-Hudson.

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE.

Geo. F. Seward, New York, N. Y.
Joseph Silverman, New York, N. Y.
Alexander Mackay-Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.
H. S. Smith, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Samuel Spencer, Washington, D. C.
D. J. Stafford, Washington, D. C.
Louis Stern, Washington, D. C.
Geo. M. Sternberg, Washington, D. C.
Francis Lynde Stetson, New York, N. Y.
Robert Stiles, Richmond, Va.
Oscar S. Straus, New York, N. Y.
Joseph Swain, Swarthmore, Pa.
Hannis Taylor, Washington, D. C.
Samuel R. Thayer, Minneapolis, Minn.
Lambert Tree, Chicago, Ill.
Benjamin F. Trueblood, Boston, Mass.
George Truesdell, Washington, D. C.
H. St. George Tucker, Lexington, Va.
Wm. R. Tucker, Philadelphia, Pa.
R. S. Turk, Staunton, Va.
W. K. Van Reypen, Washington, D. C.
Richard M. Venable, Baltimore, Md.
Frederick E. Wadhams, Albany, N. Y.
Chas. D. Walcott, Washington, D. C.
J. P. Walker, Washington, D. C.
George Gray Ward, New York, N. Y.
Ethelbert D. Warfield, Easton, Pa.
Fiske Warren, Boston, Mass.
Henry L. West, Washington, D. C.
Chas. S. Wheeler, San Francisco, Cal.
Everett P. Wheeler, New York, N. Y.
Horace White, New York, N. Y.
John M. Wilson, Washington, D. C.
Nathaniel Wilson, Washington, D. C.
Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.
Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia, Pa.

International Arbitration Conference

MORNING SESSION

AT THE NEW WILLARD HOTEL

JANUARY 12, 1904

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

Proceedings of a meeting held at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 12, 1904, 10 o'clock A. M.

Dr. L. C. Chamberlain, of New York, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee appointed at the Conference of 1896, called the meeting to order and said: Gentlemen will come to order. By reason of the greatly lamented death of Mr. William E. Dodge, of New York, Chairman of the National Arbitration Committee appointed by the Conference of 1896, it falls to me as the Vice-Chairman of that committee to call this meeting to order. I have the pleasure of nominating and I do nominate the Honorable John W. Foster, of the city of Washington, as President of this Conference. (Applause.)

The question being taken on the nomination of Mr. Foster, he was unanimously elected President, and took the Chair.

President JOHN W. FOSTER. I am informed that the Executive Committee has some further report to make.

Dr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I desire to nominate as Secretaries of this Conference John Bassett Moore, of New York, and Thomas Nelson Page, of Washington. I am told that Professor Moore is not present, and therefore I will add the name of Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of Philadelphia.

The nominations were unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The city government of Washington is present and represented by all of its Commissioners. The President of the Board desires, and we of the local committee of Washington have asked him, to say a word, to assure you that you have a welcome here. (Applause.) I take pleasure in presenting Mr. Macfarland, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Commissioner H. B. F. MACFARLAND. We of the District of Columbia are very sensible of the honor of having within our gates such a body of eminent men on such a noble mission. It is fitting that representatives of all sections of our country interested in promoting international arbitration, and particularly in

securing a treaty for its direct application to controversies between the United States and Great Britain, should assemble in our National Capital, not only, the seat of government, but the official residence of the representatives of foreign governments and the place where our treaties are made and ratified. In the fullness of time the hour seems to have come for the fulfillment of our hopes that the two great English-speaking nations which have done more for the cause of international arbitration than any others, shall bind themselves by solemn obligation to employ that method as far as possible in the settlement of their disputes, and with the certainty that their example in this respect will be followed by all other nations.

It is most gratifying to know that you are on the verge of success, now that the dream of the poet has become the purpose of the statesman.

You need no formal welcome to the National Capital, for every one of you has earned its freedom by distinguished public services. But we want to say that we are very glad that you are here, that we trust your business may be prosperous in every possible way, and that you will go away feeling that it has been good for you to be here.

President FOSTER. Gentlemen of the Conference, I highly appreciate the honor conferred on me in being called upon to preside over such a distinguished and representative body of citizens, assembled from all parts of the Union, to confer upon one of the most important subjects which concerns mankind.

The time at your command is limited, and I must not consume any considerable portion of it in introductory remarks. I think, however, it may be profitable to your deliberations if I briefly refer to one aspect of the main question you have in hand.

The call under which we come together indicates as the chief matter for our consideration the basis for an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain, which may afterward be extended to other countries. It is often said, when a general treaty of arbitration is suggested, that there are some subjects which a nation should not arbitrate. Among these are mentioned territorial questions and national honor. Let us inquire what has been the character of the questions between ourselves and Great Britain which have been in the past submitted to arbitration.

In the first treaty made with that country after our independence, that of 1794, our government submitted to the arbitration of a commission a territorial question involving a large extent of country, and by a unanimous decision the claim of our government was rejected. By the same treaty a similar reference of the rights of American seamen and commerce was made, involving principles of international practice vital to our prosperity; also the question whether our courts had faithfully carried out the terms of the treaty of independence as to British loyalists.

By the treaty of 1814 three arbitration commissions were created to determine the various controverted matters connected with the Canadian boundary, involving large areas of territory on the mainland and adjacent islands.

The treaty of 1871 created an arbitration tribunal, the most important and imposing in its personnel and in the principles involved ever held between two nations. The United States charged that the British government, by its acts of omission and commission during our Civil War, had caused the flag of the United States to be swept from the ocean, its foreign carrying commerce of great magnitude to be destroyed, and the war to be prolonged at the cost of tens of thousands of lives and billions of dollars.

If the conduct of the British government was established to be in accordance with international law, the consequence would be of the gravest character, as not only the honor and the vital interests of the United States were concerned, but even its independence, as the contest was one in which the dismemberment of the Union was threatened. And yet our government entered into a treaty with Great Britain by which atonement for these acts was submitted to arbitration.

I need not enumerate the remainder of the score and more of arbitration treaties we have had with Great Britain on a great variety of subjects, to show that no question can in the future arise between the United States and Great Britain which will more seriously involve the territorial integrity, the honor of the nation, its vital interests, or its independence, than those which have already been submitted to arbitration without serious injury to our interests.

There never was a time in our history when the two countries

were more closely united in common aims and a similar duty to mankind. Every high motive of government and every worthy impulse of the kindred people calls for a binding pledge of peace which may be a model with and for other governments.

I congratulate you upon this auspicious gathering of citizens from all sections of our common country, and I feel sure that your deliberations will be fruitful in their results. (Applause.)

The Executive Committee has a still further report to make. It will be presented by Hon. George L. Rives, of New York.

Mr. RIVES. Mr. President, on behalf of the Executive Committee, I want to submit a short and what may be called an informal report of what has been done during the past eight years which have elapsed since the Conference was held in Washington in April, 1896.

That Conference, as everybody will remember, was called for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a permanent scheme of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, and after two days' session it adopted two resolutions. The first recommended to the United States government the negotiation at the earliest practicable date of a treaty with Great Britain to provide for the widest application of arbitration to international controversies. The second resolution provided for the appointment of a permanent committee to continue the work of the Conference.

The resolutions were presented to the President and Secretary of State immediately after the adjournment of Conference, and subsequently a permanent committee was appointed to keep the officials of the United States government interested in the subject.

It is only just to say that that duty was a very light one, because both President Cleveland and Mr. Olney, then Secretary of State, were deeply imbued with the importance and the justice and the practicability of the views advocated by that Conference.

The result of these Conferences was that in the latter part of 1897 the committee were informed that a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain had practically been agreed upon.

That treaty, as you will all remember, was signed here in Washington by Mr. Olney and the late Lord Pauncefoot, then

Sir Julian Pauncefote, on January 11, 1897. The committee subsequently used what efforts it could to induce the Senate to accept the principle if not the precise language of the treaty of arbitration. That effort unfortunately failed by a very small margin, lacking a very small vote in the Senate, because nearly two-thirds of the Senate were in favor of the treaty as amended.

After that it seemed to those who were most active in the management of the committee, notably to the late Mr. Dodge, whose death has been a most serious loss to the whole movement, that the times were not very propitious for undertaking any further active work; and from that time until quite recently the committee has not been called upon to take any action at all. In the meantime, of course, various events have occurred which have very materially altered the situation.

The first of these is the adoption of The Hague Convention for international arbitration, which everybody here will remember provides for the establishment of a court and to some extent for the procedure before that court. It does not involve compulsory arbitration by anybody. It simply provides the machinery for submitting to arbitration questions that the various parties may agree to arbitrate.

The second event in order of time is the settlement quite recently of the disputed Alaska boundary question by a species of arbitration, if it may be so called, between the United States and Great Britain. The result of that decision has been to dispose of the most irritating and most difficult and perhaps the most important—I think probably the most important question—pending between ourselves and Great Britain. It seems to me that the removal of that question from the field of controversy has done a great deal to smooth the path for a new treaty of arbitration.

The third event to which I alluded is the conclusion of a treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and France by which both parties in substance agree to submit certain classes of questions, which are rather loosely defined, but they do agree to submit certain classes of questions to The Hague tribunal.

After these events had occurred, a meeting of the small executive committee of the permanent committee appointed eight years ago was held in the city of New York in the month of November,

and it seemed to all those present that the time was now ripe for again renewing the efforts made in 1896, and it was thought advisable to call together the whole of the permanent committee, the members of which reside in various parts of the country. The committee was not a very large one. It consisted originally of twenty-seven members. Many of them we have lost by death. It therefore seemed wise on the whole that instead of limiting the meeting to be held in Washington to members of the permanent committee, we should invite a number of gentlemen from other parts of the country to come together with the members of that committee, with a view to determining what it was wise to do in the present situation of affairs. Accordingly a circular call was issued on the fourth of December, containing printed invitations to attend this meeting, which invitations you have all received, and which it is unnecessary to read. No attempt has been made to secure a meeting large in numbers. Our purpose was to seek the attendance of a few prominent citizens, representative of the various sections of the country. In the main persons not connected with the executive or legislative departments of the Government were invited, and the result is the gathering we see here to-day.

Now this program has been suggested as the course to be followed by this meeting :

In the first place the appointment by the President of a Committee on Resolutions. Awaiting the report of the Committee on Resolutions, short speeches by those who may be here. Then the report of the Committee on Resolutions ; the discussion and adoption of the report, the appointment of committees to lay the resolutions which may be adopted by the Conference before the President of the United States and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations ; and then action to make the organization permanent by authorizing the President of the Conference to appoint a committee.

In the afternoon a mass meeting is to be held at the Lafayette Square Theatre at a quarter past four. It is expected that addresses will be made by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., retired, the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, of New York, Judge J. M. Dickinson, of Illinois, Andrew Carnegie, of New York, and others.

The PRESIDENT. The Executive Committee submits for the guidance of the Conference the program which has just been read to you. What shall be done with the report?

The report was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The program as adopted requires the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions. After examining the list of those who have accepted invitations to this meeting and consulting with a number of gentlemen who are informed as to the composition of the Conference, I have selected and suggest the following names as a Committee on Resolutions:

Judge George Gray, of Delaware.

Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, ex-Ambassador to the Court of Italy.

Professor John B. Moore, of Columbia University.

Hon. Lambert Tree, of Chicago, ex-Minister to Belgium.

Hon. Addison C. Harris, of Indianapolis, ex-Minister to Austria.

Hon. Horace Davis, of San Francisco.

Hon. Oscar S. Straus, of New York, late Minister to Turkey.

John Cadwalader, Esq., of Philadelphia.

Francis Lynde Stetson, Esq., of New York.

Thomas B. Ransom, Esq., of Virginia.

Edward Rosewater, Esq., of Omaha.

Hon. Samuel R. Thayer, of Minneapolis, ex-Minister to The Hague.

Gentlemen, these I submit as the names of the committee. I believe under the program I have the authority to name them. If there are no objections this committee will stand as the Committee on Resolutions.

A DELEGATE. I move that the President be added ex officio.

The PRESIDENT. This committee has to enter upon its duties right away, and the President, I suppose, will be called on to remain in the chair, so I do not think it best to press that motion.

The DELEGATE. I ask that the Secretary put the motion, so that we can have the benefit of the advice of the President, even if he cannot attend the meeting of the committee.

The SECRETARY (Mr. Thomas Nelson Page) put the motion, saying:

Gentlemen, it seems eminently fitting that the President of this meeting should be on that committee. We might be able to put someone in his place here for a while to perform the easy task of keeping this audience in order. Therefore, I put the motion that the President of this meeting be added to that committee as an ex officio member.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The Committee on Resolutions having retired, the President said: The program of exercises provides that during the absence of the Committee on Resolutions brief speeches shall be made by various members of the Conference. I first have the honor of introducing Dr. David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University, California.

Dr. JORDAN. Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, it is a little hard for one who is not a lawyer to be the first speaker, and to strike out into the dark, speaking to a body of men each one of whom knows a good deal more about the subject than the speaker himself.

I am not going to take the text indicated to me, but with your permission I will spend a few minutes on some points concerning arbitration, assuming that we are all in favor of it—assuming that we all believe in arbitration instead of war. These points have come to be in connection with my personal work in making the awards concerning the fur seals and the people of Samoa.

In the first place it seems to me that arbitration and adjustment are two different things; that arbitration has to deal with international law, with equity among nations. Adjustment is fixing up things so that we can get along, and that is best done generally by splitting the difference, regardless of absolute justice. But equity is not reached by splitting the difference. It seems to me that in many of our arbitration tribunals an effort has been made to settle things without war by giving each side some part of what it claims, without regard to whether that side is entitled to any part of what it claims. In this last discussion with Canada and Great Britain the Canadian cause rested solely on the hope of some adjustment by splitting the difference. I hardly think that anyone would claim—that is, any unprejudiced person—that any absolute right was inherent in the Canadian claim. Splitting the difference is something else. Now it seems to me

these two matters ought to be kept very well separated, and that the arbitration tribunals ought to be able to separate them.

I felt very much encouraged personally by the result of the late arbitration concerning our attack in connection with the British on the town of Apia, in Samoa. It was an unprovoked use of arms in connection with local politics, and the tribunal of arbitration decided that Great Britain and the United States had to pay for all the damages sustained; that there should be no splitting of differences. That, as I say, is a very encouraging thing.

It has seemed to me that in the causes brought before arbitration tribunals there ought to be a joint high commission to ascertain the facts. In some of these arbitration cases the tribunal itself has had to ascertain the facts at issue the same as a court would have to do. Those facts can better be ascertained by a joint high commission. Such commissions can agree absolutely on the facts, so that the question at issue will be one of equity alone. They can be more easily ascertained by a joint high commission. The joint commission can agree absolutely on the facts, so that the question at issue will be one of equity alone. If the tribunal is not to have the facts furnished to it, and the case made up beforehand, then it ought to have every appliance known to the courts for ascertaining the truth. It ought to be able to punish perjury and everything of that kind in the same way in which other courts punish false testimony. At the Paris tribunal concerning the fur seals most of the testimony on one side was false and spurious, paid for by the Canadians in Victoria saloons. Things of that kind the tribunal ought to be in a position to punish. Otherwise the highest court in the world is as likely to be imposed upon as the lowest courts are. It seems to me also that it is a great mistake to put advocates on the tribunal. We have had in many cases at least on each side strong advocates, men whose opinions were known beforehand, who were pledged beforehand to win the case for that particular side. It seems to me that ought not to be. It seems to me that arbitration ought to provide for the establishment of justice, and that it ought to have every provision for its ascertainment which is known to the lower courts. It seems to me that the highest tribunal in the world ought not to be made less

accurate in its work than the ordinary tribunals of the States or of the United States government.

I do not know very much about the general subject. I have tried to emphasize some things. I am thoroughly in sympathy with the cause at large. I believe that adjustment of almost any kind is better than war, and adjustment by means of actual equity and international law is better than adjustment by commissions that split the difference. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. We had expected to have as a speaker this morning the Mayor of Baltimore, Hon. Robert M. McLane, and he had made all his arrangements to be present, but unexpected duties have detained him. As a substitute for his speech, I read letters from the Mayors of New York City and Chicago, as follows:

CITY OF NEW YORK.

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR.

January 11, 1904.

HON. JOHN W. FOSTER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I deeply regret that the press of public business keeps me from meeting with you, whose influence is cast for humanity in the plan of international arbitration.

In this age, when men and nations look hopefully to a future of universal peace, every endeavor to fasten upon all countries a code for the amicable adjustment of international difference must win the esteem of all mankind.

Among those who are to address you are men of many achievements for the world's good, yet I doubt if any of their works have looked to a nobler purpose than that which now engages you.

Respectfully,

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,

Mayor.

MAYOR'S OFFICE,

CHICAGO, *January 8, 1904.*

HON. JOHN W. FOSTER,

Chairman National Arbitration Conference,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of December 24, inviting me to attend and take part in the International Arbitration Confer-

ence, to be held in Washington on Tuesday, January 12, 1904, has been received. Owing to the terrible calamity which has been visited upon our people here in Chicago, and the demands upon my time in consequence, it will be impossible for me to be with you, much as I would like to.

In my opinion arbitration should always be resorted to between civilized countries when differences arise. The world is surely far enough advanced by this time to be willing to make an appeal to arms the last resort when nations fall out. Christianity, humanity, and all of the higher motives of men make it imperative that before a war is declared that every peaceful means of settling matters in controversy should have been employed. That arbitration is not a mere word, but a living principle, has been proved over and over again. The settlement of the Alaskan Boundary question is one of the late examples of the wisdom of arbitration. When nations, as well as individuals, are ready to listen to the dictates of reason and prudence before embarking in war as a means of settling grievances, the world will have advanced immeasurably towards the higher civilization.

Respectfully,

CARTER H. HARRISON.

The PRESIDENT. I have letters also from the Mayor of Boston, Hon. Patrick Collins, and a number of others, but I will not consume your time in reading them now.

There is a gentleman present who represents much in diplomacy in our foreign relations and in arbitration in the person of the son of one of our great Secretaries of State. This gentleman was his right hand in all his work during our Civil War and through the administrations of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson. I call upon Hon. Frederick W. Seward, of New York, to speak. (Applause.)

Hon. FREDERICK W. SEWARD. I thank you very heartily for this cordial greeting. It has given me great pleasure to meet the members of the Conference, and I have listened with interest and satisfaction to what has been said thus far, and heartily concur in every suggestion that has been made.

We have come together to-day not to initiate but to take part

in the world's progress toward international arbitration, for the world does make progress. Progress in this direction began in the last century, and it is going on through the century that is before us now. Every such conference as this, even if it has no other result, brings fresh testimony to show that the world is getting tired of its wars. (Applause.) It brings fresh testimony to show that the world is casting about for means to adjust differences without this perpetual recourse to arms. Every such conference, as Mr. Rives has shown you in his remarks, when it reassembles after an interval, finds much that has been done during that interval. Since the predecessor of this Conference met in 1896 The Hague tribunal has been established, and what was considered two or three years ago a mere theory, a mere project, has now become an active living force in the affairs of the world, and is yearly winning the world's favor. (Applause.)

War and peace are generally supposed to be two contradictory terms, but if you listen to those who are engaged in them you will find that they both claim to be pursuing the same end and the same object. That is, the securing and the maintenance of justice. We go to war to remedy some real or fancied injustice. We keep at peace when we have no injustice to complain of. I suppose some such idea influenced the ancients when they devised that figure of Justice which still surmounts so many of our city halls and capitols, the figure of the woman with the sword and the scales. She typifies the character of the age that gave her birth, for if you will notice she holds the sword drawn, ready for use, in her right hand and keeps the scales back at her left. In those days men were always ready to draw the sword and fight their quarrels—and weigh the merits of them afterwards. Now it would be highly improper to suggest modern improvements to a classical statue, but if that figure was made to represent the trend of modern thought, she would hold those scales aloft in her right hand ready for instant use, and keep the sword sheathed at her left, only to be drawn in the direct emergency. (Applause.)

I believe that at the time when an arbitration treaty with Great Britain was first proposed, one of the objections made to it was that it might prove a hindrance instead of a help to what we were seeking, because it might introduce limitations and restrictions to the power that both governments already enjoyed of submitting

to joint commissions any questions that they chose. So now it may be said, as probably it will be said, that we need no arbitration treaty with Great Britain because we have already what is practically an unwritten treaty, that is, the prevailing desire on both sides of the water to submit all our disputes to some peaceful settlement, and to have them decided on the basis of right and justice. Well, that is true; but then the answer to that is, that if such a disposition does exist—and I hope it does—it will be all the better to have a formal and official treaty that shall confirm and strengthen us in that disposition. (Applause.) And furthermore, it may be said that this treaty between the United States and Great Britain, if one is formed, will be more than a mere treaty concerning those two powers. It will be an example, a precedent, and once initiated by them it will be readily followed by other nations. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. I have referred in my opening remarks to the treaty of 1871, which committed to arbitration such vital interests of the United States. We can imagine none greater that might arise between nations. The greatest arbitration treaty ever negotiated by this country was that of 1871 under the direction of Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, an honored name in our history, and we have a worthy representative of that name present to-day in his son Stuyvesant Fish, of New York. We should like to hear a word from him. (Applause.)

Mr. STUYVESANT FISH. Mr. President and gentlemen, it is hardly necessary for me to tell you that I came unprepared and that this is unexpected. Half an hour ago I was told that I might be called upon and I had thought of saying something on the lines of what Mr. Seward has so much better said. It remains for me to take up another branch of it, which has relation, perhaps, to my vocation—something purely commercial. In a very interesting magazine article written about fifty years ago by one of my father's colleagues and friends, Governor Boutwell, after reviewing the commerce of the whole world, he says—I quote from memory, not having seen the article for perhaps a year that there are in this world but two great commercial nations. Remember this was written fifty years ago. He says there were at that time but two great commercial nations, Great Britain and the United States. Then he says some words which I do not

purport to quote literally, and which Governor Boutwell perhaps to-day would not repeat, and perhaps it is not quite loyal in me as the son of his friend and as his friend to quote them. But he went on to say that neither of these nations goes to war except for a distinct commercial advantage, nor, having prosecuted that war to a successful issue, fails to reap all the commercial advantages of the victory.

I doubt if Mr. Boutwell would say that to-day, but there is a point that I want to bring out here and that is the importance to Great Britain and to the United States, as the great commercial nations, of avoiding the loss, which our New England is to-day suffering in no small degree, the loss of a great war. What would be to-day the cost of such a war as we prosecuted between 1861 and 1865, if carried on under modern methods? You cannot contemplate the cost of a repetition of our Civil War, and a war between this country and Great Britain, it seems to me, would impoverish both nations for the rest of time. That is the thing that is going to work and is working for peace as potently as anything that we can devise. It seems to me that as each nation is especially a commercial nation, the appeal will have to be made on those lines to the commercial interests, to the present and future tax-payers, who will have to pay the cost of any war which might follow a failure to arbitrate.

The PRESIDENT. We have many and various interests represented in this Conference. I have a letter from a gentleman well known to you who expected to be present, but who, for the reasons which he gives, is not able to attend. I read a letter from John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America :

OFFICE NATIONAL PRESIDENT,
UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *December 30, 1903.*

Mr. JOHN W. FOSTER, *Chairman,*
Executive Committee National Arbitration Conference,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your favor dated December 18th, also a communication from Hon. Oscar S. Straus, New York City, in relation to the arbitration conference which is to be held in Washington on Tuesday, January 12, 1904. I regret very much

that the work incident to the forthcoming wage conference of the coal miners and coal operators of the Central Western States, which will be held in this city during the month of January, makes it impossible for me to participate in the National Arbitration Conference to which you so kindly invite me. I wish to tell you that I am in full sympathy with the purposes of your Association, and were I not so pressed with work would gladly avail myself of the opportunity to take part in the Conference.

I am, yours truly,

JOHN MITCHELL,

President, U. M. W. of A.

The PRESIDENT. We have present with us a distinguished representative of that large and influential element, the labor organizations. I will ask Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, to speak to us. (Applause.)

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS. Mr. President and gentlemen, I am glad that our honored President has said that in asking me to address you he expects me to address you for but a very few moments. The fact that it is only a very few moments since I was asked to speak would perhaps make that statement unnecessary. That would go without saying.

I merely wish to say that both as an individual and as a representative of the interests of the organized wage-earners of the country I am and we are in full accord and in sympathy with the movement for the establishment of international arbitration between our government and that of Great Britain. (Applause.)

It is now a little more than twenty years ago since Sir Lionel Playfair, with Henry Kramer, a member of the stone-cutters' union, a member of the British Parliament, who came to this country to enlist the good offices of men in public affairs, in the labor organizations to co-operate for the purpose of securing an international arbitration treaty between the two countries. They came at the time while the convention of the American Federation of Labor was taking place at Baltimore, and these gentlemen appeared before our convention, and a resolution was adopted expressing our unalterable devotion to the principles of arbitration, including international arbitration. (Applause.)

I see several gentlemen here present whom I very well remem-

ber as having with them participated in a conference and at a public mass meeting held at Steinway Hall, in New York City, in favor of an international arbitration treaty.

I may say just this one word. We could very well understand some of the reasons why the treaty then proposed failed of ratification. There were very many objections obtaining then that were obstacles to its success, which do not now exist. There is a much more enlightened public sentiment among our own people. We have broadened out, not only in our minds but our hearts, too. (Applause.)

We have larger conceptions of man's duty to man and to the world.

One of the obstacles then prevailing has been eliminated by conditions obtaining between the government of England and that of Ireland.

One of the things that prompted a large portion of our people to oppose anything like an understanding, much less a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, has been eliminated by the adjustment of one of the great contentions between England and Ireland. (Applause.)

I need not say that after all the great battles that are fought, while there are men in other walks of life who lose their lives and their property, after all the sum total of those who give up their lives and lose their limbs come from the great body of the wage-earners of our country. (Applause.) For that reason, as well as for the larger reason that we are all men (applause), and that no man's life ought to be given up in a fray which it is possible to avoid within reason and justice and morality (applause), for these reasons labor ought to be and is in favor of a treaty or any other method that shall settle international disputes by peaceful, reasonable, humane methods, rather than by the force of arms.

The people of the United States can afford to be great, and they can afford to be generous, and they can afford to be noble-minded. Apart from the fact that these attributes should come to us naturally, we can afford to continue our conduct upon broad and high principles and planes.

I shall not take up more of your time except to say that I am in hearty accord with the purpose of this movement, and anything that I can do to contribute in any way to make it success-

ful it will be my proud pleasure to do, and I shall regard it as one of the highest and best duties that I have been enabled to perform during a somewhat varied and extended life. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. The next gentleman whom I shall call upon will, I am sure, bring a word of welcome from the other side of the water. I ask Samuel Barclay, Esq., a prominent barrister of London and Paris, who has had much to do with the formation and bringing about of the treaty of arbitration between France and Great Britain to say a word to us now. (Applause.)

Mr. SAMUEL BARCLAY. Mr. President, I thank you for giving me an opportunity of addressing an audience so representative and so important as this. I have had the pleasure of addressing several American audiences, and I have only one thing to say of the reception that I have received, and that is that they have been extremely indulgent, that they have listened with a great deal of attention and that they have applauded me, so that I felt quite ashamed of the poor speech I had to offer them.

The treaty of 1897, which was not ratified by the Senate of the United States, is present to all your minds, and I think the great question which we should now consider is just to what extent we can, perhaps, use the precedent of 1897 for the purpose of getting a treaty ratified this time.

Since 1897 many things have happened. Many references have already been made to the institution of The Hague Court, but there are one or two other things which have happened which are of very great importance to us. First of all, you have the Anglo-French Treaty, which was signed on the 14th of October last. You have the Franco-Italian Treaty which was signed on the 24th of December last. Before these two treaties, another treaty was signed between the Argentine Republic and Italy, which was not ratified by the Italian Parliament. In the interval was another treaty between Italy and Argentina which is now in full force and vigor, and which is a very important treaty indeed. I wish I had time to go into it more thoroughly, but the lesson of these treaties is that there is a trend of public opinion throughout Europe, which we cannot afford to ignore or take little notice of. We must consider what is the tendency of the times. The treaty of 1897 was placed before the Senate at a time when the Senate vaguely felt what was coming, and it was

not ratified. I am not prepared to say that the Senate was altogether wrong. That treaty provided that all cases should be referred to arbitration. Now it is true that in a subsequent clause of the treaty a certain form of conciliation became possible if arbitration was not resorted to. There was a confusion of two ideas which President Jordan pointed out. There was a confusion of the idea of arbitration and the idea of conciliation. Since then all the treaties that have been adopted have confined arbitration to what are properly judicial cases. That is to say, considering that an arbitration board is a sort of a court of justice, you cannot submit to arbitration things which a court of justice cannot take cognizance of. A judicial case is a case for a court. A judicial case as between nations is a case for a court of arbitration; but when you come to take the case which is present to all of our minds this moment, and which is threatening the peace of the world, the case between Japan and Russia, Japan claims a sphere of influence, while Russia claims an indispensable outlet from Siberia. Here is a clash. There is no question of justice between the two, and there is no judicial case. How could you arbitrate a case of that kind? If a solution could be found, of course we would all be glad, but that is the sort of a case which we all feel is not an arbitrable case. It might be a conciliable case.

The Alaska Boundary affair was considered by the Senate not to be an arbitrable case; it was considered to be a conciliable case, and for that reason the Joint High Commission was appointed and not a court of arbitration. The trend of opinion seems to come to this, that vital interests and national honor must be excepted, or at all events that there must be a loophole to escape from the treaty if need be. I do not say that is just what we want, but it is no use fighting for a thing which we are not likely to get. We must confine our interests, I think, to trying to get what seems to be possible.

Now there was one treaty which went further than all these modern treaties. That was the treaty between the Argentine Republic and the Kingdom of Italy. That treaty was not ratified by the Italian Senate. There you have the same idea at the bottom of the refusal to ratify it as prevailed in the Senate of this country. The fear of binding down a State and leaving it

without a loophole of escape. Now let us come to see whether after all it is a matter of such very great importance. There is a common idea, a very pernicious idea, that a treaty of arbitration is a gag; that it binds a government not to go to war. That should not be the idea at all. It is simply an implement in the hands of a country to assist it in avoiding war. If it is the object of diplomacy to avoid war, we must assume that no government at the present day wishes to have war if war can be avoided, and that this is a further method to place in the hands of government for the purpose of avoiding war. That is the way we must look upon a treaty of arbitration. Then is not a loophole a good thing? Is it not a good thing to put a treaty into such a form that the general public will have no doubt whether arbitration may or may not be a benefit to the country? The more latitude you leave, it seems to me, the better. Then I should say that the treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and France is a very good model indeed. It is full of loopholes, but it is a splendid weapon for negotiation. It is a splendid means of prolonging negotiation, a splendid means of gaining time, and that is the real object I think we ought to tend to achieve; that is, to place in the hands of government a means of gaining time in an emergency. When an emergency arises you know how the press clamors, and how public opinion gets excited and how the government is dragged along in spite of itself.

If you read the memoirs of Bismarck you will see how he deliberately allowed himself to be dragged into war. He knew what would be the effect of public opinion. He says so in his memoirs. He issued that dispatch with the deliberate purpose of exciting public opinion, and then he turned around and said, "I cannot help myself, I must go to war, public opinion requires it." Well, that is the sort of thing we want to avoid. We want to give governments an opportunity of escape from war if they do not want to go to war. We do not want to place too much in the hands of one man. We want to give the opportunity for further suggestions or negotiations if possible, and if in this country and Great Britain we can get a treaty on the line of the Anglo-French Treaty to begin with, which is being followed by the Franco-Italian Treaty, and which is going to be followed almost entirely word for word by the Anglo-Italian, I think we shall have done a

great deal toward securing a perpetual peace between the two. Then later on let us try to get something more. Let us try to go to the full extent of the Treaty of 1897. But there is a great advantage in moderation. I believe the less you ask for the more you are likely to get, and if we are moderate in our demands in the beginning we shall probably better be able to attain our purpose than by proposing much to them, of which they will give perhaps only a little.

I know there is a certain amount of distrust of arbitration in Great Britain. There was a very strong feeling, so strong that practically the whole press in Great Britain was at one time against the movement. Finally I had to reduce the demand to the limits which were ultimately adopted.

The Hague Court is a great institution at this moment. There is a gentleman here who has made it a much greater institution, and there is a movement in which that gentleman has taken part which will still more strengthen it. I refer to Mr. Andrew Carnegie. (Applause.) We should do everything we can to strengthen that cause. The treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and France refers all questions to The Hague Court which are proper to be so submitted. The Franco-Italian Treaty does the same thing, and the Anglo-Italian Treaty is going to do the same thing. I believe that if we confine our efforts to the same end in the treaty between this country and Great Britain we shall do as much as we can for the present, perhaps.

The SECRETARY. I was requested by the president, who is momentarily absent, to ask Judge Keck, representative of the New York State Bar Association, to address the Conference.

Judge KECK. Mr. President and gentlemen of this Conference, I come forward without any notice whatever that I was to say a word here to-day, but I assure you that after listening to the remarks that have been made, if there is anything we can do to prevent war I favor that. I have visited the graves of some of my old comrades whom we laid away during the dark days of our Civil War, and when I look back, and recall the scenes about this great Capital in those days, it seems like a dream. As one of our great leaders, General Sherman, said, "War is hell," and I know of no better description. If we can by peaceful methods bring about results that have hitherto been settled by the sword, I

say amen to that. I do not of course commit the New York State Bar Association to any proposition or purpose. I have no authority to do that, but I have been connected with that Association for many years, and in all these questions that affect national prosperity, national progress, national justice, that Association has always taken a deep interest, and I have no doubt it will throw its influence in the direction of carrying forward the purposes of this Conference here to-day. Gentlemen, I am obliged to you for the few moments that you have given me. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. We have in attendance upon the Conference a number of representatives from the far South. We want to hear from that quarter of our common country. We have with us President W. L. Prather, of the University of Texas, and we should be glad to have him address us. (Applause.)

President PRATHER. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Perhaps you are as much surprised as I am that a man from Texas should be called upon to make a speech for peace. (Laughter.) Texans have been a fighting people and are proud of their glorious history. They gave to the world in their defense of the Alamo, where not one was left to tell the story of their dying valor, the sublimest exhibition of heroic courage in the history of the world. When the President of the United States (Mr. Roosevelt) proposed to raise his regiment of Rough Riders, which were to win new glories for the flag of our nation, he stated that it was his desire to form them under the shadow of the Alamo.

To-day, as President of the University of Texas, I come to this Conference with one whom we are proud to recognize as Chairman of our Board of Regents (Hon. Geo. W. Brackenridge), the leading financier of our section, who also comes from beneath the shadow of the Alamo. But we come upon a mission of peace, we come as representatives of the educational interests, not only of Texas but also of our common country, to contribute our influence to the success of this Arbitration Conference, feeling that this meeting is itself a part of that great educational movement that looketh to the peace of the nations. (Applause.)

Texas has ever stood for universal education as a political and economic measure. As early as 1836, in their Declaration of Independence, the people of Texas declared that the failure of the government to provide for the education of its children was

a ground for revolution, and announced that it was "an axiom of political science that unless a people are educated and enlightened it is idle to expect a continuance of civil liberty or the capacity for self-government."

To-day every publication issued by the University of Texas bears upon it, as its master thought, a sentence from the message of President Lamar to the Texas Congress of 1839: "Educated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. * * * It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge, and the only security that freemen desire." This is the only basis for an enlightened and virtuous democracy. If it be true that the idea of an educated democracy is the overshadowing thought of modern times, well may the Goddess of Liberty, with torch in hand enlightening the nations of the world, typify America.

In this great movement, looking to the education of mankind to the pursuance of peaceful methods in the settlement of all international differences, and which movement I believe to be the greatest ever undertaken by man, Texas gladly joins, since it is logically a work of economic education. Standing upon this platform with the honored Secretary of this meeting (Mr. Thos. Nelson Page), a college friend, who sat with me at the feet of the greatest soldier of this country, and who, when he had graduated with such distinction in all the arts of war, voluntarily took upon himself in the crowning years of his noble life, the training of the young men of his loved Southland in the arts of peace, when I recall this greatest warrior of modern times I feel that if he were living and here to-day, his voice would be for peace. It is of Robert E. Lee that I speak. (Applause.)

Here, too, would stand that great soldier to whom Lee surrendered, and upon whose majestic tomb on the banks of the Hudson is cut in imperishable marble that beautiful inscription, worthy of him, and worthy of this great occasion, "Let us have peace." (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. Among the most numerous represented interests of the country present to-day are the commercial organizations. I call upon Mr. W. R. Tupper, Secretary of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, to read the resolutions of that Chamber recently adopted on the subject of arbitration.

Mr. W. R. TUPPER. Mr. President, I do not intend to burden

you with any remarks, but if you will permit me I will merely read the resolution that was passed yesterday by the Committee on Arbitration of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, expressing its views upon this very interesting, important and vital question :

Resolved, That the Philadelphia Board of Trade approves the general proposition for an Anglo-American Treaty of Arbitration and Conciliation for the settlement between the United States and Great Britain of all questions of grave national importance, or involving territorial claims or claims of their citizens, as the most effective means for securing stability to the political and commercial relations between their respective peoples, the same to be so framed as not to be inconsistent with the support which the government of the United States has given to The Hague International Tribunal."

There is nothing for me to add to that expression except to say that as far as I am aware of the commercial sentiment of this country, I believe that the vital interests of commerce and of humanity run along the line of securing some definite expression from the nations of the world upon this very important subject, so that questions of the character mentioned in this resolution and others that we have dwelt upon here may be settled in other ways than by the arbitrament of war. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. The object in the assembling of this Conference was to get a consensus of opinion of citizens of the country, not men who had the responsibility of government on their hands. Therefore we have not invited Senators, Congressmen, or heads of the various departments of the government, but a member of Congress is present who has been prominent in the arbitration movement and who desires to make a statement which will be interesting. I have pleasure in introducing Hon. Richard Bartholdt, a member of Congress, from St. Louis. (Applause.)

Hon. RICHARD BARTHOLDT. Mr. President and gentlemen, I merely desire to make an announcement, or to impart some information which I am sure will be gratifying to this most distinguished audience. The Inter-Parliamentary Union for the promotion of International Arbitration, comprising members of all parliaments of the civilized world, at its last conference at Vienna, decided to hold its next conference on American soil. (Applause.) The resolution was adopted upon my motion, after a very lively

discussion. Denmark was a candidate for the honor, and a delegation from Denmark were present, offering not only guarantees from their government as to a large appropriation for the entertainment of the delegates, but they also presented an invitation from their Congress, inviting the conference to come to Copenhagen this year. But in view of that great work of peace which has been prepared in the city of St. Louis, the World's Fair, and in view of the fact that the United States has always taken a leading part in questions of arbitration, and in view particularly of the fact that only one week preceding that Vienna Conference the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, had referred the Venezuela question to The Hague Court of Arbitration (applause)—in view of all these considerations I am happy to say that I won the battle single-handed; being the only American delegate present. (Applause.) The Congress decided unanimously to hold their next conference at St. Louis. That great organization does not consist of theorists or dreamers, but practical men of affairs and statesmen who strive only for the attainable and whose main purpose is to insert, if possible, into every arbitration treaty to be negotiated hereafter (applause), and into every treaty of commerce and into every other treaty a clause providing that all differences arising between the two treaty-making nations shall be settled by arbitration.

The first step in the United States to become a part of this international arbitration movement is the organization of a group in the American Congress, and I have taken it upon myself to invite all the senators and members of the House of Representatives to a conference to be held to-morrow night in the hall of the House for the purpose of organizing such a group for international arbitration. (Applause.) It is to become part and parcel of the international body.

When those three or four hundred distinguished men, many of them Speakers of Houses, Presidents of Senates, many members of the House of Lords of England, when all these distinguished men come with their ladies, it is necessary that they be properly entertained. According to my own experience and information, it has been the custom in Europe to entertain these delegates by banquets, their railroad fare was free, their hotel bills were paid, souvenirs were presented them, and, consequently, if we would treat them as our guests in the same manner, the expenses will

be considerable. For that reason we shall ask for an appropriation of about \$50,000 from Congress. And I here and now ask you to prevail upon the members of Congress, in your respective districts, to support that appropriation when it comes up. I thank you for your attention. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. We have had the resolutions of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce read. There are upon the table resolutions of Chambers of Commerce from other cities of the country. You cannot hear them all, but I read the resolutions adopted by the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Resolutions adopted at a meeting held January 7, 1904.

Whereas the government of the United States has recently adopted the principle of arbitration in the settlement of differences with other nations in respect to the Alaskan boundary and the Venezuelan boundary question; and

Whereas, such mode of settlement is in the interest of peace and national well-being, it is hereby

Resolved, By the Boston Chamber of Commerce that we favor the negotiation of a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, under which all questions that may hereafter arise, excepting only those that relate to national honor and territorial jurisdiction, shall be referred to the International Tribunal at The Hague for final settlement.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and the Senators and Representatives of Massachusetts.

ELWYN G. PRESTON,

Secretary.

A true copy. Attest.

The PRESIDENT. We have with us to-day the Governor of the State of Indiana, but before asking him to address you, let me read one or two of the letters from other governors.

STATE OF NEW YORK.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

ALBANY, *December 28, 1903.*Mr. JOHN W. FOSTER, *Chairman,**National Arbitration Conference,**Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 19th inviting me to attend the National Arbitration Conference in Washington, on Tuesday, January 12, 1904.

I wish my engagements were such that I could be present on that occasion, because I am in entire sympathy with the object of this assembly. My engagements are such, however, that I cannot be present.

The principle of arbitration and peaceful settlement of international differences has been making tremendous headway during the past decade. It is to be hoped, and most fervently prayed for, that the time will soon come when the necessity or apparent necessity for the adjustment of difficulties between nations by force of arms may no longer exist.

Very truly yours,

— B. B. ODELL, JR.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

BOSTON, *December 29, 1903.*

HON. JOHN W. FOSTER,

*Chairman, National Arbitration Conference,**Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I thank you for your communication of the 26th instant. Owing to official duties in connection with the session of our State legislature, it will not be possible for me to attend the International Arbitration Conference, to be held in Washington on Tuesday, January 12, 1904.

Permit me to express my appreciation of the objects of this Conference, and my wish that as the result of the deliberations of those who may gather in response to your invitation, the cause of international arbitration may be forwarded, the world's peace strengthened, and, in particular, interest renewed in the adoption of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain under which these nations may bind themselves to resort to The Hague

tribunal for the settlement of such differences as may arise between them. I am,

Yours very truly,

JOHN L. BATES.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
SACRAMENTO, *December 30, 1903.*

Hon. JOHN W. FOSTER,

*Chairman, National Arbitration Conference,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge, and to thank you for, the invitation to attend the International Arbitration Conference to be held in the city of Washington on December 12, 1904. If my other duties would permit, it would be a pleasure and privilege to attend the session of the Conference and to lend any assistance in my power to the furtherance of the great object of peace among the nations. No grander purpose can engage the attention of men who are desirous of benefiting their kind and leaving the world better than they found it. To all who are engaged in this task I send my godspeed and best wishes for their success.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE C. PARDEE,
Governor of California.

THE PRESIDENT. I now ask Governor Durbin of Indiana to address us. A man who has done so much to preserve domestic peace and to suppress lawlessness in his own State will receive a hearty welcome from this assemblage. (Applause.)

Governor W. T. DURBIN. Mr. President and gentlemen of the Conference, I had hoped that your President, my good friend General Foster, would permit my presence to sufficiently attest my interest in the subject and object of this Conference. I was fearful that if I should be called upon to speak I might to my humiliation be compelled to confess my lack of intimate knowledge relative to the movement this meeting has been called to further.

Having had a modest experience as a soldier in the Civil War and our war with Spain, I would naturally be looked upon as an advocate of "peace if we have to fight for it." Yet I have noted that those who look with least favor upon a resort to war are those who have experienced the horrible realities of battle.

One of the most conspicuous examples of international arbitration was given to the world by the United States and Great Britain under the administration of General Grant, the greatest captain of our times, but whose memorable words were "Let us have peace." William McKinley was a soldier, and a gallant one, yet there was never exhibited on any battlefield bravery more splendid than that displayed by him in the early days of 1898, when, turning his face against popular opinion almost unanimously demanding an instant declaration of war against Spain, he plead for peace, and exhausted the last expedient of diplomacy, to the end that the differences which constituted the causes for a resort to international conflict might be amicably adjusted.

The progress of invention is rapidly making war not only inexpedient, but impossible. We are reaching the point in military and naval development where we must have peace, because we do not dare to fight, even if we were not, with increasing civilization, imbued to a greater degree with the humanitarian spirit which makes an appeal to physical force as a means of adjusting disputes appear as irrational upon the part of a nation as upon that of an individual. A conflict between armies and fleets under modern conditions would mean something more than the injury of one party to the struggle—it might mean the annihilation of both.

I visited the Navy Department this morning and heard,—with particular pride because the vessel in question bears the name of the Hoosier State,—the result in a trial of marksmanship on one of our battleships. It appears that one gun, firing four times at intervals of forty-five seconds, hit the bull's-eye each time, while the vessel was under way. Think of what this would mean in actual conflict, the projection from each gun, with unerring accuracy oftener than once a minute, of great masses of metal against the sides of opposing ships. There has been a corresponding development in the army weapon. The zone of fire is now the range of vision. There will be no more hand-to-hand struggles over the decks of ships of the line, no charges like that of the Light Brigade or of Pickett at Gettysburg. The picturesque element has in large part been eliminated from warfare, and there is left only the horrors of wholesale slaughter.

We cannot afford to go to war any more. (Applause.) Civili-

zation could not afford the awful outpouring of blood and treasure that would characterize an armed conflict between two such nations as the United States and Great Britain. It is fitting that they should, by an agreement for the amicable adjustment of any differences that may arise between them, set an example for the emulation of the rest of the world. The recent settlement of the boundary dispute between Great Britain and the United States, a consummation which would have been utterly impossible even half a century ago, is a triumph for both nations greater than it would have been possible for either of them to achieve by the sword, no matter what the issue of such a conflict might have been.

Our nation stands for peace, for friendly relations with all the world. It is fitting that our people should lead in the movement for the recognition in principle and the adoption in practice of international arbitration. I rise simply to pledge myself to do anything within my power, personally or officially, to advance the object of this Conference. (Applause).

The PRESIDENT. Among other large organizations represented in this Conference is the National Association of Manufacturers, an organization extending throughout the country. By its official action a delegate is present in the person of Mr. A. B. Farquhar, and we shall be glad to hear from him.

Mr. A. B. FARQUHAR. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Arbitration Conference, in response to your invitation I am here as the representative of the National Association of Manufacturers—which is, perhaps, the greatest business organization of the world—to tell you that we are with the cause of arbitration—heart, mind and soul. The relations of general peace, however, to productive business call for little discussion from our Association; for some other members of the body politic, the importance of peace may be open to argument, but for us it is a matter of simple perception. The destruction of property, where-with our produce is to be bought—of life, and of demand for our product *pari passu* of general stability of conditions, and of enterprise and confidence as a consequence—these are disasters too unmistakable to permit the business man to hesitate in taking measures to avoid them, such as this body seeks to take. It is quite true that, along with the general economic disaster, a

state of war brings in wealth to a few producers ; but gains like this stand in the midst of widespread loss like the gains of lotteries. No ; our interest is really too self-evident for argument, and I will turn to the general question, Can arbitration be made practically successful ?

The question of international arbitration, though the discussion of it may perhaps be something belonging especially to these latter years, is really a venerably old one ; and one, indeed, which in a slightly different form comes down to us from a time far back of History, being closely associated with the earliest efforts of man to live as something better than a beast. Whether men should be governed in their mutual relations by law or by brute force was necessarily among the first problems that their slowly developing intelligence had to encounter—a problem on whose decision the possibility of progress essentially rested. The oldest literature is a step in the solution of this problem. The earliest Egyptian writings (other than mere inscriptions) coming from a lapse of time estimated between five and six thousand years, are compact codes of conduct and behavior ; in other words, guides to aid men in living according to law and avoiding appeals to force. The oldest writing in the Hebrew Bible is believed to be the Decalog, with the brief code set forth in the 21st to 23d Chapters of Exodus. Similar rules of conduct come from a like antiquity in the Hindu and Chinese literatures. These ancient precepts we may look upon as the first notes of a conflict not even yet completely decided ; for every day's police court proceedings prove that there are yet men among us who prefer to the sober arbitrament of law the time-honored wager of battle.

In this twentieth Christian century—few as are the generations elapsed since that age, “ when knighthood was in flower,” and the right of private war was cherished among the most precious privileges of chivalry—the question of law or force, as a basis of decision between citizen and citizen, hardly calls for argument. That is a question on which reasoning people are agreed. The question before the world to-day is whether the points at issue between nation and nation are of a character so radically and fundamentally different from those between individual citizens, that the method of settling differences which is all wrong in the

latter case is all right in the former, while the method which the united experience of all nations through fifty centuries has vindicated and established for the one is totally inapplicable to the other. It would surely seem that this difference in character between national questions and individual questions ought to be exceptionally clear, as well as exceptionally wide, to justify such diametrically opposite methods at the same time; particularly when we know that nations are made up of citizens, and that the same human nature characterizes both the individual and the aggregate. And yet, in fact, no such difference has been pointed out. We have often heard of something called "national honor," which refuses submission to arbitration, and demands that questions involving it shall be decided by bloodshed rather than reason; these questions, it appears, relate usually to the position of boundary lines. But though it has been some time since private citizens resorted, on principle, to homicide and mayhem where the boundaries of their estates were involved, it has not been so very long—three or four generations, perhaps, while in certain communities making high pretensions to civilization the time has hardly yet passed—since the same motive, "honor," has been accepted in certain cases as the sufficient justification of ruffianly rather than peaceful settlement of personal differences. It is very difficult, after the most painstaking examination, to find any essential difference between these last cases and the points on which we are assured that international disagreements can only properly be settled by ruffianism on a larger scale. The only real and practical difference is that other citizens have the power, by combining, to enforce the employment of orderly methods of settlement on citizens whose passions would lead them to prefer the more primitive plan, while nations are not subject, or not as yet subject, to any such pressure from other nations. The citizen may not, while the nation usually may, glut its appetite for vengeance with impunity, so far as outsiders are concerned.

There is no serious question of principle, therefore, in the way of universal international arbitration, for all kinds of differences that may arise. There is no reasonable doubt that any and every claim that one nation may make on another ought if possible to be adjudicated by an impartial tribunal. In order to avoid the danger of vexatious suits on unfounded claims, it should be pro-

vided that the party against whom the decision was rendered should pay the costs of the adjudication. The difficulties remaining in the way of a smooth-working scheme of general arbitration are difficulties in practical application and not in principle, but they are perhaps not less serious on that account. There is the uncertainty of obtaining judges whose capacity, erudition and impartiality will be unquestioned; and there is the inability of the tribunal to enforce its decisions, and the general lack of interest in their enforcement, on the part of the nations having power to give them effect. It is plain that the ability of the whole plan to stand and survive depends on its success in overcoming these practical difficulties—there is nothing else, unless we except original sin, formidable enough for it to fear. To my own mind, though I am far from underrating either of the difficulties I have named, the more important one for us to set ourselves to surmount is the first. I believe that after some success has been reached in creating a tribunal which shall be known and held in respect the world over, which shall be in its very name a synonym for incorruptibility and impartiality, and mastery of the ground principles of the law of nations, we need trouble ourselves comparatively little about giving it power or seeking the power elsewhere, to enforce its findings. The nations of the earth will soon begin to take a pride in this arbitration tribunal of their creation—a whisper from it will be heard farther than even the roaring of the “brazen throat of war,” and attention will be paid it because it will be endowed with the moral qualities that command attention..

Let me give two examples in support of this opinion. First, the Papal See has to-day more influence over mankind than it had before it was shorn of its temporal power. For the last Pope was, and there is reason to believe that the present Pope is, a man of character—a man who can command the unquestioning reverence of his adherents, and the sincere respect of others—whose every word is therefore sure of an obedience from those, and an attention from these, which would not be paid to his office alone. Nor, for that matter, has the influence of the Papacy ever been limited to the amount of material force it could bring to bear. For good or ill, that influence has been almost exclusively moral; and, without saying that any other institution could ever exert an influence of just the same kind, we are fully warranted

in looking to the history of the Papacy for light as to what could be expected of another institution, resting like it on a moral support.

The second example is furnished by our Federal Supreme Court. This tribunal certainly experienced its "day of small things," when its first Chief Justice deserted it in order to run for governor of his State, and afterwards when a President dared to taunt it with its impotence—"Well, John Marshall has made his decision; now let us see him enforce it!" The Supreme Court has no more power to give effect to its decisions now than it had in those earlier years; but no one ever asks any such question in our day. Let this great Court render a decision on any point, though after a long debate and by a majority of one vote, and that decision is obeyed throughout the country, by Presidents, by Congressional majorities, by State authorities, and by citizens. The reason is that our judiciary is something that all agree to respect, and all so agree because it has proved itself worthy of respect. Any other institution that proves itself equally worthy will earn the same respect, and wield the same moral power.

In some ways, the outcome of The Hague Conference is precisely on the lines sketched above, its great achievement being the formation of an international arbitration tribunal whose members, appointed by the participating powers, but on duty only when specially called, are for the most part men with whose ability and representative character their fellow-countrymen and the civilized world may rightly be satisfied. What appears more than anything else to be needed, in order that this tribunal may hold the position it ought to hold, is to give it more to do. Only by actual work can it prove its capacity for work; only by showing its skill and impartiality on cases brought before it can it become known throughout the world for skill and impartiality. The scope of such a tribunal is well-nigh unlimited, for it would have not only to apply principles of international law already accepted, but to extend those principles to cases not hitherto contemplated. What the cause of international arbitration needs just now, more than anything else, is another John Marshall on its supreme tribunal; a man ready to advance as far as possible the authority and dignity of his high court, to make new applications of old principles, and to recognize the elasticity of precedents.

Such a personality would surely leave the standing of an international arbitration tribunal as different from what he found it as our Marshall left our Supreme Court.

Turning to that beautiful passage in Isaiah and Micah, which reads:

"Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem; and he will judge between many peoples, and will decide concerning strong nations afar off: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of Jehovah of hosts hath spoken it."

This is sweet and majestic poetry, to be sure, but it is more—a practical indication of what is possible and may be made actual. A generation ago, in our own childhood even, which would have seemed more preventable—wars which come of our own wills and lusts, or those awful visitations whose very name of "plague" pronounced them a direct fiat and stroke from the Almighty? Yet now it is well known that no country need have cholera or yellow fever that cares to keep them out. Shall we see such marvelous advances in bacteriology and none in morals? Surely not; we have but to choose, and we can bring this glorious prophecy to pass now. It is not applied to "the latter days" because unsuitable for these days, but because that will then be a certainty which is now but a possibility. It is not to be tossed aside as relating only to a Jerusalem of remote futurity, and without bearing on America and Europe in 1904. It is not only beauty but duty; let us also make it fact. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. Both the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade of New York have sent delegates to this Conference. The Chamber is represented by a delegation of which Hon. George F. Seward is Chairman, and we shall be glad to hear from him.

Mr. GEORGE F. SEWARD. Mr. President, the delegation from the Chamber of Commerce of New York comes here without instructions. A simple resolution was passed by the Chamber at its last meeting under which a committee was named by the president. Perhaps the fact that no instruction was given to the delegation

is the most significant thing that could have been done. It implies that the Chamber believes in international arbitration, and that it is willing to give its representatives full authority to express that fact in their own way.

International arbitration may be supposed to be a particularly valuable thing for the greatest commercial community of the country. New York has interests of the very broadest kind, and naturally wishes that whatever can be done shall be done in order to avoid wasteful conflict. That goes absolutely without any need of saying it. But our community stands for something else besides self-interest. I think every man in that community will appreciate Mr. Gompers' statement that the men who go into military service come from the ranks of the wage-earners. They, not we, they and their wives and children, are the ones to suffer. It is on the side of humanity as well as on the side of self-interest that we must wish well for all movements looking to international arbitration as a means whereby to avoid war. New York has demonstrated over and over again its warm sympathy with suffering, whether it be in China, in Texas, or wherever else it may be. The spirit that moves for the relief of suffering is a spirit that must stand against the inhumanity of unnecessary war.

But beyond this, there is something that the Chamber of Commerce of New York stands for always. When the Venezuelan incident occurred, a most notable contribution to the discussion of that question was made in the Chamber. The chief note of that discussion was this: We desire peace, we hope that war will not come out of this difficulty, but it must be peace with honor.

So we of the mercantile community in New York stand for whatever makes for the interest of humanity, but always with first reference to the national honor. (Applause.)

Mr. President, there has been for some time past before the Chamber of Commerce of New York, a proposition to create a standing committee of arbitration. That may or may not be done. But whether it shall be done or not, New York will be true to whatever makes for peace, whatever makes for humanity, provided always that these things consist with the national honor. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. I now have the pleasure to introduce Hon. Thomas J. O'Brien, of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. President, I have been greatly interested in the wisdom and good sense of this Committee in all it has undertaken in the past and what it has undertaken now.

This has been outlined by the Chairman and by Mr. Rives, showing that the organization has been active, when activity was wise; that it delayed when it would be unsuitable to proceed, and that no time has been wasted when the proper period arrived.

It goes without saying that arbitration is desirable. Somebody has said here that we can afford to press the subject. It seems to me that we cannot afford to do otherwise. The wars of the past have been largely the outgrowth of pride, greed and avarice. These passions no longer appeal to us in the same way, and we all know that arbitration will, from this on, be the part of wisdom and of mercy. Indeed it is a reflection upon Christian civilization that the growth of this method of settlement should have been so slow. The difficulty has been in the past, that nations have been governed by a single will. What we call citizens were mere creatures of the Sovereign, who might be sent into battle at the sweet will of the Monarch.

Mr. Gompers has well said here, this morning, that the laboring people are the ones who mostly make up our armies, and I need not point out that most of the suffering and distress, with the loss of life and limb, that results from war, may be found in that class. An examination of our pension rolls is a sufficient object lesson, if proof were needed.

The adoption of arbitration is growing in this country. A few years ago transportation companies decided their difficulties through wars of rates. In a financial way, the result could be likened to wars among nations. In time, the pride and the temper of managers yielded to common sense. Now nearly all contracts of importance between railroad companies and others contain arbitration clauses. The pride of position and of power incident to humankind, has, in late years, been made prominent through conflicts between capital and labor, but we notice that disputes and differences are now, for the most part, being adjusted through friendly arbitration, and that employers have been obliged to yield what had been understood to be well established rights.

Of course Great Britain stands ready to join in a suitable arbitration treaty. She has shown this by past negotiations. This country stands ready also, I am sure, because we can point to a greater number of settlements by this method, during the past one hundred years, than can any other nation.

It therefore depends upon our administration to negotiate and guide on its way a successful treaty, and it will depend upon the influence growing out of this Conference to see to it that, when negotiated, it shall be ratified by the Senate.

The PRESIDENT. I should be glad to hear, and I have no doubt the Conference will also, from members who have not spoken yet. In other words, while we are waiting for the Committee on Resolutions to report, which I am told will be in a very short time, volunteer speeches are in order.

Mr. W. R. TUPPER. Mr. President, I should like to suggest that we hear from Mr. Randall, President of the National Board of Trade, a representative body of this country, comprising many of its constituencies, a great organization for trade and commerce throughout the United States. I feel certain that he will tell you that the National Board of Trade stands in hearty sympathy with this movement. I call upon Mr. Blanchard Randall, of Baltimore, President of the National Board of Trade.

The PRESIDENT. That is an excellent suggestion.

Mr. BLANCHARD RANDALL. Mr. President, I have nothing to add to what has been said. I can certainly add no word to what I have heard in the last hour. I feel sure that every member of the National Board—and there are a dozen members of it in this hall—will be with me in urging upon all Americans the advisability of carrying out the program which we expect to get from the Committee on Resolutions within the next few minutes. The National Board meets in this hall one week from to-day, and it is my purpose and pleasure that the resolutions which this able body will adopt here to-day shall be presented to that meeting. I am sure that representing as we do fifty or sixty of the great commercial organizations of this country, and perhaps 35,000 business firms of this country, that a certain amount of force, a certain amount of knowledge of the subject certainly, will be brought prominently before the business community of the United States. (Applause.)

Mr. SAMUEL B. CAPEN. Mr. President, I understood the gentleman who spoke for the Chamber of Commerce of New York to say that they might establish a permanent committee of arbitration. I am happy to say that the Boston Chamber of Commerce have already chosen a permanent committee of arbitration, and the chairman of that committee is here to-day in the presence of Mr. Cobb. Perhaps you will give him a minute.

The PRESIDENT. We will do so with pleasure.

Mr. HENRY E. COBB. Mr. President and gentlemen, I can hardly add anything to the interest of this occasion, except to assure you that Boston, the center of intelligence, as we sometimes think, at any rate the headquarters of all the cranks of the country, has long been awake to this idea, and has been carefully working to the best of its ability towards the attainment of the result for which this Conference is called. The conscience of the country has been awakened for a long time. It seems to me that the self-interest of the country is the best thing to which we can appeal to-day, and that is the plan which is being carried out in having the commercial interests of this country wake up to the fact that they are deeply interested in this matter, which has not only conscience but self-interest in it. We are endeavoring, in Boston and in Massachusetts, to wake up our people to just this thing, to a realizing sense of the wastefulness and the foolishness of war, and to a realizing sense of the power there is in capital and in commercial interests to bring about the results which are for their benefit. The members of the Senate as well as of the House of Representatives of the United States have their ears to the ground, no matter how exalted the plane upon which they may profess to stand, and when the merchants and financiers of the United States say to their representatives and their Senators, "We want to avoid war and we insist that every means be applied to maintain the peace of the nation," I think there will be no difficulty in having treaties of arbitration passed through our influence.

Hon. LYNDE HARRISON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a word concerning the feeling in the State of Connecticut. In Yale University and among the professional and business men of my State there is deep sympathy with the movement. We have had public meetings at New Haven in the last two weeks, in a house

built upon the spot where Roger Sherman did his work and lived and died. Our people have the spirit of Roger Sherman in them in relation to this movement. They know that Ellsworth and Sherman and their associates in the great Federal Convention of 1787 gave us the great national arbitration tribunal of this country—the Supreme Court of the United States. At these meetings which have been held in New Haven we have had representative manufacturers and workingmen; not great leaders like Mr. Carnegie, but workingmen themselves. I asked two of the workingmen what they thought about this subject, and if they had read the discussions of it in the newspapers, and one of them said, "The workingmen of this country are more strongly in favor of peace than are the men of property and the capitalists and the employers, because the workingmen know that when the country is at war there is less work for them to do and they must wait and suffer. And more than that, they know that they are the class which make food for the bullets. The men of capital do not go and do the fighting." He also said, "You may feel sure that when the time comes that there is a public movement on this subject, you will find that the workingmen of the country will stand by the leaders and the administration, and the party who put through an international arbitration treaty."

And, Mr. Chairman, the President of Yale University, the leading professors and the leading college men there, take a deep interest in this subject and hope for its early practical success. Many of them are looking forward to that time prophesied by that great New Englander, John Fisk, in his "Critical Period of American History," referring to the establishment of the Supreme Court of the United States, when he said it was the beginning of a movement which in some future grander convention will provide a similar tribunal between wholly sovereign states, so that peace may reign forever and war be a thing forgotten. I believe this movement here will bring about such a result before this century has closed, by the establishment of a Supreme Court for the civilized nations of the world.

The PRESIDENT. I desire to say that in no part of the country has a more hearty response been made to our appeal for this Conference than in the State of Connecticut and the city of New Haven, and I am very glad that Judge Harrison has spoken to us

this morning. Mr. Gompers has another word to say, and we will hear from him.

Mr. GOMPERS. I merely wish to suggest, Mr. President, that we have with us this morning a gentleman who has been a life-long advocate of arbitration. He was the representative of our government in one of its first and perhaps one of the most important cases that was arbitrated before The Hague Court of Arbitration. I refer to Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, from whom you can profitably hear for a few minutes.

The PRESIDENT. I have no doubt the Conference will be glad to see as well as to hear from a gentleman who has stood before The Hague Tribunal. (Applause.)

Mr. JACKSON H. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers has been kind enough to refer to the fact that I happened to be sent before The Hague Tribunal as American agent in the first case presented. As to the merits or demerits of the case it is unnecessary to speak. We can, however, take an inward satisfaction in certain things. One is that it was by the action of the United States, together with Mexico, that The Hague Tribunal was opened in the month of September, 1902. We may take a national pride also in the fact that the contentions of the United States were successful. We may also be pleased that the greatest and most important principle established at that time by that court was one affirming the absolute sanctity on all future occasions of a decision once reached by an international tribunal. (Applause.) I count it a matter of good fortune that that principle received the sanction of what is now and must in the future be more decidedly the supreme court of the world.

We are glad, I am sure, to know that two of the American members of the court of The Hague are present here to-day, Hon. Mr. Straus and Mr. Justice Gray. I do not happen to notice the presence of the remaining members.

I come here with no special message, and find myself most unexpectedly on my feet; but there is one thought which I desire to present to this tribunal and which, I hope, may be emphasized by its action and by the action of every subsequent convention dealing with this particular subject. That is, what is in an international sense the meaning of the word honor. We are told sometimes that questions of honor and of national

interests ought not to be sent to arbitration. But what is honor? The thing which was called honor ten years ago is not called honor to-day. The thing which is called honor to-day may be regarded twenty years from now as an indifferent thing. Honor is a word of fluctuating meaning. We know this when we come to apply the word in our private transactions. A hundred years ago men fought duels because honor compelled it. Does honor compel it to-day? No; mistaken notions of national honor have brought about fierce wars in the past. What we have to do is to build up a true sense of national honor. The only thing which constitutes national dishonor is the thing which involves national degradation, and if the true sense of honor be involved in a controversy, we who are parties to such a controversy ought not to be ashamed to submit the question of honor to that sort of a tribunal. (Applause.)

I hope that there will be increasing calls upon The Hague Tribunal for the adjustment of international controversies, and I feel sure, Mr. President, that with those increasing calls will come a true enlightenment, will come a true waking up to the fact that things which have been mistakenly classed as questions of honor in the past are merely matters of interest, matters of adjustment, matters for conciliation or, using what I think is a better term, are matters of arbitration. And before taking my seat I want to call your attention to this one thing which occurs to me is a good work that this Convention can do to-day, to direct attention to the point that while there is a war impending between Russia and Japan, if we may believe the newspaper reports, it is the duty of both those nations to see if an adjustment of their difficulties cannot be had by reference to The Hague Tribunal. (Applause.) Why should it not be so upon such questions as are now dividing them? There is nothing in The Hague Peace Convention precluding the reference to that tribunal of such a controversy. Is it not the duty of the United States pre-eminently, if you will, before any other nation on the face of the earth, under the very terms of the treaty of arbitration, to invite the attention of those now bellicose nations to the fact that by the terms of that treaty they should seek mediation and conciliation, and that the United States offers itself to help them on that course? And, furthermore, by the further terms of that conven-

tion, is it not the duty of the United States to call their attention to the fact that The Hague Court of Arbitration is at all times open for the adjustment of their difficulties? And when the Committee on Resolutions reports, I cannot anticipate what their report will be, but I want to express the hope now that there will be found among the resolutions one urging the President of the United States to tender the good offices of the United States to the two nations referred to. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. In looking over the audience I see a gentleman, who properly bears the title of Nestor of the press, and who has had much to do in influencing public opinion in the past. I believe he claims to have retired from active duty, but probably he would take up his pen again in this cause. At any rate we should like to hear Horace White for a few minutes.

Mr. HORACE WHITE. Mr. President and gentlemen, it is approaching the lunch hour, and we have already been notified that the speakers are expected not to use more than three to five minutes. I certainly shall not overstay that time. In company with the late Wm. E. Dodge, Mr. Oscar Straus, Dr. Chamberlain and Mr. Rives, I happened to be one of the committee which took the steps leading up to the great arbitration conference held in 1896, of which ex-Senator Edmunds was chairman, which conference led up to the arbitration treaty of 1897 that failed of ratification by the Senate. All I wish to say now is that I am gratified that such a representative conference as the one I see before me has been brought together without an immediate exciting cause like the one which we had in 1896, following Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message. At that time the hot breath of war swept over this country in what was to me an appalling manner, and I thought at that time that every lover of his country and every lover of peace was bound to do all in his power to avert the calamity which then came so near us. That was the immediate cause, as I said, of the arbitration conference in 1896, which was held here in Washington City. Now we find a sentiment in the country which brings together another conference from all parts of the United States without any immediate exciting cause, and that, I think, is an indication of national progress which must be exceedingly gratifying to all of us. (Applause.)

Dr. MERRILL E. GATES. Mr. President, objections have been made to international arbitration and to the court at The Hague, because it is alleged that arbitration breaks down national spirit, weakens patriotism, and will, therefore, subtract strength from the national character of a State. I believe this to be one of the greatest possible errors. The truth I should like to bring out, if I may hope to do so in an address of three minutes, is this: As obedience to the moral law by the individual strengthens personality and builds up character, precisely so an intelligent regard for principles of ethics *by a nation*, and obedience to international law through the methods of peaceful arbitration which are embodied in the establishment of The Hague tribunal and the enlargement of its functions, does strengthen, must strengthen all that is finest and best in true national spirit. Precisely as God in His dealings with the individual strengthens manhood by leading a man to guide himself in accordance with a fixed standard of righteousness, just so in his dealings with nations, it is by national regard for principles of righteousness, and through a national habit of regarding the rights of other nations that God builds up in a national state the strongest character—the only strength that can perpetuate the life of a great nation. Nothing is finer in the history of the progress of the race than is this development of a high type of national character in these great national states which have developed so marvelously within the last half century. They have come into being as the result of that *growth in the self-consciousness* of nations, which is the *mark of personality*; and among nations, as with individuals, *personality* is constantly corrected and strengthened by regard for the principles of righteousness.

Nothing gives us more hope for the future of our race than does the recognition of the fact that nations like individuals are responsible to the principles of morality, and are under obligation to respect each other's personality and each other's rights. This is the basis of all international law. Every state, whatever its wealth and population, in the light of international law is regarded as a *national personality*; and all nations are *equal in certain fundamental rights* before the tribunal of international law.

As men, we are sometimes called upon to do manly work in opposing and overcoming the forces of Nature. But when in doing an appointed piece of work we find ourselves *in line with one of the mighty forces of Nature*, we may rejoice in that fact, we may rely upon the tendency, the mighty movement along the line in which we move, which is due to the great force which is working with us. In favoring international arbitration, we need not hesitate to rely upon those ideal principles of justice which are embedded in the very constitution of sound national life, as they are in the constitution of the human mind. In this kind of commerce among the nations, we need not fear to rise to the serene height to which Emerson refers when he declares that above the clouds of self-interest, "the eternal trade-winds of God blow steadily and always in one direction." It is this great truth which gives us assured confidence that the movement toward peaceful international arbitration is destined to succeed. This movement *must grow* in power as the intelligence and the morality of the world become higher. The hope of this reform lies in the fact that it must advance as steadily as clear ideas and right principles prevail among men. Just as certainly as England and America are committed to popular government and to popular education, just so certainly must they move toward peaceful arbitration and obedience to the principles of international law. In advocating this movement we are conscious of getting in line with the mightiest forces which move man upward and onward. *For the power of thought and ideas to influence, sway and control action, is the dynamic of the rational universe!* We may safely depend upon it!

Because men are reasonable, and are not mere "fighting animals," international arbitration must prevail! And in this movement the two great nations of the English-speaking world, Great Britain and the United States, should at once lead the way; not only because the men of these two nations have in common the rich inheritance of the common law and generations of training in self-government, but also because it is the inborn instinct of this Anglo-Saxon stock *to love liberty*, not as a mere sounding phrase for revolutionary movements, but *as a mighty force worked out in institutions and embodied in well recognized personal and national rights!*

Therefore I believe—we all believe—that the men and women whose great-great-grandfathers loved that flag of Great Britain, the men who with their fathers and their sons love that sister flag which hangs beside it—the flag of our own country; the men, Englishmen and Americans, who have loved these two flags when they were shot through with bullets and drenched red in blood, may in the light of this new century know a still higher pride and a still truer patriotism in loving those two flags, when, as here above the platform and at The Hague Tribunal, they are together draped on that white background which suggests the ermine of judicial purity and righteousness in international relations, and is the emblem at once of God's justice and of Christ's own Reign of Peace!

The PRESIDENT. The Committee on Resolutions are now ready to report through the chairman of the committee, Judge George Gray, of Delaware.

Judge GRAY. Mr. President and gentlemen of the Conference, I trust that the time your committee has spent in preparing what I have in my hand to be submitted to you has not been spent in vain. We have very carefully considered the matter which we had in charge, the reporting of resolutions to submit to this Conference for their judgment in regard to this important matter of an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain. We realize that no conference and no set of men can control this matter, but we can launch, and we can do more than launch, this subject upon the sea of public debate and discussion which, after all, in this country of ours is becoming more and more important and decisive in bringing us to correct and safe judgment. I think that we see hopeful signs of the beneficent power not only of public opinion in our own country but in other civilized countries, and we begin to see the development of an international public opinion, that is to assert itself in the future in blessings to mankind and for the advancement of the civilization which it is our privilege to possess. (Applause.)

The committee instruct me to report the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States, adopted in 1890, the President was requested to invite negotiations with other governments to the end that any

differences which could not be adjusted by diplomacy might be referred to arbitration and peacefully adjusted by such means; and the British House of Commons in 1893, adopted a resolution expressing cordial sympathy with this purpose, as well as the hope that the British government would lend its ready co-operation to the government of the United States to the end that the resolution of Congress might be made effective; and

Whereas since that time as a result of an international conference, a permanent court of arbitration has been established at The Hague, to which nations may voluntarily resort for the peaceable settlement of their differences; and

Whereas it is the opinion of this Conference that the government of the United States, in view of its historical position and of the great results accomplished by means of arbitration, should continue to further and to support every movement to establish by peaceful means the reign of law and justice among nations:

Resolved, That it is recommended to our government to endeavor to enter into a treaty with Great Britain to submit to arbitration by the permanent court at The Hague, or, in default of such submission, by some tribunal specially constituted for the case, all differences which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiations.

Resolved, That the two governments should agree not to resort in any case to hostile measures of any description till an effort has been made to settle any matter in dispute by submitting the same either to the permanent court at The Hague or to a commission composed of an equal number of persons from each country, of recognized competence in questions of international law.

It is further resolved, That our government should enter into treaties to the same effect, as soon as practicable, with other powers.

These, Mr. President, are the resolutions which your committee have unanimously reported for the consideration of this Conference, and it is hardly necessary for me to say a word more to the members of the Conference, most of whom are more familiar with this subject than I am, although not more interested and not having more at heart the accomplishment of the great end we all have in view. But it does seem as if, to use the very apt language of our President this morning, the fulness of time had at

length come, when this great step forward in the civilization of the age should be taken, could be taken, and ought to be taken, and that Great Britain and the United States are the two countries of all others that should be the example to the rest of the world in forwarding this great movement for the benefit of mankind. It needs no speech or argument in its support. The arguments are old and hackneyed—hackneyed only in the sense that they are often repeated, because they often spring from the heart to the lips, and from the thought to the expression, that we are of the same language, the same traditions of government, the same traditions of freedom and constitutional liberty, and that we have in fact the respect and leadership of the world at large, that makes our action in this movement especially desirable and one that promises most for the future in this, and in other good work which concerns the advancement and betterment of world conditions. I am hopeful that from this Conference great good in this direction may flow. I am not so sanguine as to believe that we shall accomplish all we desire. I know that the aspirations of good people the world over are slow of accomplishment. Civilization itself is a matter of slow advance. The turmoil, the agitation, the public discussion, the yeasty waves of debate that ever precede the line of forward advancement will go on in the future as in the past; but we may make a small and substantial advance, and with that we shall have to be content, because all the past shows that we cannot accomplish everything at once. The things that have come to stay in our history and civilization are things of slow growth; but it does seem to me that the skies are bright with promise for the future, for the accomplishment of this great matter that we have brought ourselves together to forward. The very fact that the Congress of the United States has committed itself to the general principle as long ago as 1890, the fact that the British government in its representative legislative body, the House of Commons, has sanctioned it, and that one treaty has already been made, is full of promise for the future. I know it is unfortunate that an arbitration treaty should have been framed and rejected, but after all I am disposed to minimize the harm that the rejection of that treaty has done. Notwithstanding a certain phase of ungraciousness that it had on the part of the government of the United States, and the feeling of amazement

that it created in the public mind of Great Britain, I think after that first feeling was over it left behind a residuum of good feeling and hopefulness for the future in both countries, so that that abortive attempt was not without its practical benefit for the great cause that we have at heart. I think it has been one of the factors in bringing about that *entente cordiale* which now exists between the two countries, and after all that must underlie all treaties and is better than all treaties to insure peace and happiness to the two countries and unite them to co-operate in the great cause of civilization in the future. There are some people who while in favor of a maintenance of the cordial relations that exist between this country and Great Britain at the present time honestly believe that treaties might be a hindrance rather than a help. As the Irishman and his wife were sitting beside the fire after a little spat, and had composed their difficulties, and were looking at the large Newfoundland dog and the cat curled up in front of the fire, Patrick said to Bridget, "Look at the cat and the dog lying there in harmony. Why can't we do as they do?" And the wife responded, "Tie them together and see how much harmony there would be." (Laughter.) So there are some people who think that tying the two countries together will have an effect contrary to that hoped for. I do not think that is the general opinion. I feel quite sure that it would not have that effect. I think that a great step forward would be taken in the world's betterment; and I say the world's betterment for, after all, we cannot confine our efforts to ourselves, nor can nations act for themselves alone. Slowly and surely there is an altruism forcing itself upon nations as upon individuals. We make treaties for open ports for the world and not for ourselves, and to the great glory of this Republic such a treaty has been made avowedly for the opening of the ports of China to the world. We cannot build Isthmian canals for ourselves alone. We must build them for the commerce of the world, and everything that we do nationally on this great theatre of the world must be for the cause of humanity and for civilization, and in that we are helping the humanity and civilization and happiness of our own country more efficiently than by any other means.

I think I have said now all that I care to say about a question with the details of which I am not at all familiar, but with whose

important subject-matter I am very seriously and heartily in sympathy. (Applause.)

FRANCIS LYNDE STETSON, Esq., of the Committee. Mr. President, it seems to me that my friend, Mr. Paine, gave the best reason for the adoption of the resolutions when, as they were read from this platform, he said down there on the floor that "they are first rate." They are better, I think, than when they were submitted to the Committee, because we have added nothing to them, though we did elide a number of lines and passages. The two questions that were before us were first, what good can we do here, and second, what is the best way of doing it? Judge Gray, with that devotion to moral principle that has distinguished him in his career both in the Senate and on the bench, and in arbitrations of a most important character, has thought that the time has come, "the fulness of time," as the chairman has felicitously expressed it, in which a declaration of principally private persons would be of authoritative influence with governments. Some of us, I think, hardly realize what an extraordinary advance has been made within comparatively a short period by the feeling in favor of the composition of national or international differences by arbitration. There is within my knowledge an instance which I should refrain to mention were not all the important personages concerned in it now dead, and as the instance may be considered with reference to its personal relations rather than its international relations, I may perhaps venture to name the nations, though I shall not mention the persons concerned.

Our Minister at the Court of St. James upon one occasion told me that he had presented a claim of a citizen of the United States which had long been doubted and resisted, and at last, with great difficulty, he obtained a settlement. This is of consequence because the nations concerned are exactly those that are concerned in these resolutions this morning. Having obtained this settlement, the knowledge of such settlement became known to the French Ambassador, who came to him, the American Minister, and said, "How did you obtain that settlement? I have had exactly such a claim as that for one of our people and I cannot get any attention paid to it." "Well," said he, "I will tell you how. I proposed to arbitrate it and rather than arbitrate it they answered that they would pay the claim." (Laughter.)

The French Ambassador said he would try the same thing. So the French Ambassador then presented to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs the claim of the French citizen and proposed that it be submitted to arbitration, and he received the same answer, "We will not arbitrate, but we will pay."

There was then an undefined and yet a controlling fear that a court of arbitration would settle some principle which would be decisive as a precedent with reference to claims thereafter arising, a consequence which would not result from a voluntary payment.

Now, gentlemen, that was within the last twenty years that that incident occurred, which I trust will not seem unimportant to some of you. Since then there has been the development of a sentiment in favor of international arbitration, which was supported and presented by Lord Chief-Justice Russell in that admirable address of his before the American Bar Association in 1896. Then there was the proposition from the very Olympian heights, communicated to the astonished world in 1898 by the Czar of Russia; to a world so astonished that when a great religious body, meeting in this city in October, 1898, proposed to give a response to that invitation by the adoption of a resolution of approval, nearly one-half of that body at first was inclined to think it was not worth while to give approval. It was a religious body that felt that doubt. To-day I think that you will concede that the results of the promulgation of that great pronouncement of the Czar of Russia, and the way in which it was saved from loss by the representatives from this country at The Hague in 1899, makes it not only impossible but ridiculous that anyone now should doubt that we and all earnest and conscientious men represent a power which can compel those even upon the Olympian heights to nod again. So I think we need never despair of the use of that which we say here or which we do here and through other associations in furtherance of the great cause of peace through international arbitration.

Now we have thought best that these resolutions that we have presented and considered should be reduced to a statement of principles and that the first principle to be observed is that they shall not limit but shall extend the application of The Hague Conference. (Applause.)

These resolutions are not presented as a substitute for any proposed at The Hague. Generally it has been pointed out that in the conclusions of the Hague Conference there was comparatively little that was compulsory. We think that in principle there was very much more that was compulsory than has been supposed. Mediation is compulsory, and the obligation to arbitrate is regarded and recognized as a moral obligation, and in the broad field of morals that which is a moral obligation is absolutely obligatory. And we do not doubt that the heaven will work until all foreign ministers and ministers of war will move toward war only under the sense of a violated obligation to arbitrate.

Next we felt that we should provide for the causes and cases which are excepted in the statement of The Hague resolutions. There are certain excepted cases, and these resolutions provide the principle which shall be compulsory where The Hague resolutions have stopped short, and they indicated also the desire that forthwith this nation shall adopt with Great Britain a treaty which shall make compulsory that which under The Hague treaty is discretionary or optional, and next that as soon as possible we adopt similar treaties with other countries. And as I have had nothing to do with the resolutions except to cut out something, I agree that they ought to be adopted for the reason already stated by Mr. Paine, namely, "they are first rate."

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the Conference, are you now ready to vote on the resolutions? (Cries of "Question! Question!")

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Coombs, of Brooklyn, desires to offer a resolution.

Hon. WILLIAM J. COOMBS. Mr. President, in introducing this resolution, which proposes a permanent organization, I only want to make mention of one suggestion to show the advance that the idea of arbitration has made.

In the 52d Congress I was waited upon by a modest Englishman who had a copy of the resolutions adopted by the House of Commons in Great Britain. This gentleman was Mr. Cramer. I was asked to present them to the House of Representatives,

which I did after much difficulty. They were laughed out of the House. Any of you who will take the pains to look at the record of that presentation will see that they were looked upon as the ravings of a madman. To-day we hear that the House of Representatives is to be open to consider the cause of arbitration. Now the resolution I offer is :

“ Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that a permanent national organization to promote international arbitration should be effected, and that to accomplish this purpose the Executive Committee appointed at the Washington Conference of April 22, 1896, should be continued, with power to add to its numbers; and further, that the President be empowered to fill all existing vacancies in the committee.”

The resolution was seconded and unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. A provision was made in the program which you adopted for the appointment of committees to lay the resolutions of this Conference before the President and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. I shall now announce the committees if there is no objection.

The President then announced the following committee to present the resolutions to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

COMMITTEE TO THE SENATE.

Governor W. T. Durbin, of Indiana.
Provost C. C. Harrison, University of Pennsylvania.
Francis Lynde Stetson, New York.
Col. Thomas H. Carter, Virginia.
A. Foster Higgins, Esq., New York Chamber of Commerce.
Osborne Howes, Esq., Boston.
Hon. Horace Davis, San Francisco.
Wm. J. Schieffelin, Esq., New York Board of Trade.
Chancellor McCracken, New York University.
Samuel Gompers, Esq., American Federation of Labor.
Hon. John I. Gilbert, Malone, New York.
Wm. Keyser, Esq., Baltimore.
Hon. John Goode, Virginia.
Hon. Lynde Harrison, New Haven, Conn.
James H. Dooley, Esq., Richmond, Va.

Horace White, Esq., New York.

Hon. Charles J. Faulkner, West Virginia.

Pres. E. M. Gallaudet, Washington, D. C.

PRESIDENT E. M. GALLAUDET. I suppose it is understood that the President of this Conference is a member of that committee. If not, I make that motion, that the President of the Conference be *ex officio* a member of that committee.

The motion was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT. Arrangements have been made with the President of the United States to receive the committee appointed to wait upon him at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning. This committee is composed of the following persons :

Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore.

Hon. H. St. George Tucker, Virginia.

Pres. Joseph Swain, Swarthmore College.

Pres. William L. Prather, University of Texas.

Pres. E. D. Warfield, Lafayette College.

Hon. George L. Rives, New York City.

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Boston.

Hon. Volney W. Foster, Chicago.

Mr. R. Walton Moore, Virginia.

Mr. Samuel B. Capen, Boston.

Mr. George W. Breckenridge, Texas.

Mr. Robert Stiles, Virginia.

Bishop Alexander Mackay-Smith, Philadelphia.

Mr. Richard M. Venable, Baltimore.

MR. RALSTON. Mr. President, if the regular order is exhausted I simply rise to move the thanks of this Convention to the management of the New Willard Hotel for furnishing us, as I understand without expense, with rooms so comfortably arranged for the purposes of this meeting, and I further suggest that the Secretary be instructed so to inform the management.

The motion was agreed to.

And then, on motion, the Conference adjourned.

International Arbitration Conference

AFTERNOON MEETING

AT THE LAFAYETTE THEATRE

JANUARY 12, 1904

MASS MEETING HELD AT THE LAFAYETTE
THEATRE, WASHINGTON, D. C., TUESDAY,
JANUARY 12, 1904.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Hon. John W. Foster, at 4:15 P. M.

The CHAIRMAN. Ladies and gentlemen, it was the intention of the Executive Committee to provide another person than myself to preside at this meeting, but the letter which I read explains why he is not present. It is addressed to myself as Chairman of the Committee.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY,
December 26th.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received through Mr. Straus your very courteous invitation to attend the Arbitration Conference to be held on the 12th of January next, and preside on that occasion. I need not say to you how much I am interested in the object which the Conference has in view and which the contemplated meeting is called to further; and yet, much to my regret, I am obliged to say in response to your invitation that engagements already made and an unusual pressure of work will prevent my attending the meeting.

Thanking you for the cordiality of your invitation, I am,
Very truly yours,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

The Conference of the friends of international arbitration was held this forenoon, and after careful deliberation they have expressed their conclusions on the subject, which has called us together this afternoon, by a series of resolutions presented by the Chairman of the Committee, Judge George Gray, of Delaware. (Applause.)

The resolutions as adopted, and expressive of the sentiment of the large numbers of representative and prominent citizens who

were gathered at that Conference this morning, will now be read to you by the Secretary, Thomas Nelson Page.

After the reading of the resolutions the Chairman said: These resolutions which you have just heard will be presented by committees of distinguished men to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate of the United States and to the President of the United States on to-morrow. They are to be supported this afternoon by short addresses from a number of gentlemen who have kindly consented to address you.

No one in our country can speak for a larger constituency than the gentleman whose name appears first in the program. It is a source of great encouragement to the friends of arbitration to know that they have such a valiant friend and champion as his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, who will now address you. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GIBBONS.

Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, every citizen of the United States that has at heart the interest of his country as well as the interest of humanity should rejoice exceedingly in every effort that is made in the cause of universal arbitration, and by universal arbitration I mean, in the first place, an arbitration that will endeavor to settle the disputes between the strong nation and the weak as well as the two powerful nations. And as we are particularly assembled here this afternoon in the interest of arbitration measures between England and the United States, I think it is eminently desired that between those two great countries there should exist a more amicable agreement and closer cordiality and friendship, such a friendship as would preclude the fear and possibility of any sanguinary conflict between those two great powers. And there are special reasons, ladies and gentlemen, why between Great Britain and Ireland on the one hand, and the United States on the other, there should be close and intimate friendship and relations.

In the first place we speak a common language, the noble English language. And it is most gratifying to observe what colossal strides, what vast progress has been made in the last two or three centuries in the growth and development of our

noble English tongue. It seems to me, although I have not had any time to refer to any special statistics on the subject, that a century ago we were perhaps not more than fourth or fifth numerically in the scale of civilized nations. I speak of our language. To-day the English tongue easily occupies the first place. And that I may illustrate this point, by an ecclesiastical event, I can say that in the 16th century when the Council of Trent was held there were present in that great synod only four prelates who spoke the English tongue; that at the last council of the Vatican held in 1870 there were present 120; and to-day there are fully 200 bishops ruling dioceses where the English language is spoken and predominates. Not only do we speak a common tongue but we also, I might say, have a common literature. We are quite as familiar with the classical writings of England and Ireland as the people of Great Britain, and the people of Great Britain are not strangers to our best authors.

And then again, and more particularly, England and America are bound together by the most close and amicable ties of commercial intercourse. Every day, every hour, ships are plying the ocean to and fro from shore to shore bearing across the Atlantic the fruits of commerce, and also messages of love and friendship from one nation to the other.

We can view only with horror the contemplation of hostilities between those two great powers. Our imagination can hardly fully and adequately conceive the awful consequences that would ensue from a war between those two great nations. A war between England and America, I might say, would be more disastrous than the combined evils of an earthquake, a famine and a pestilence.

Then, again, I might also remark that we are governed practically by the same form of government, although we are living under governments of different names. England is ruled by a constitutional monarchy. The United States is governed by a constitutional republic. England is governed by a king. Our chief magistrate is a president; and although he possesses that modest title of President, I believe you will all agree with me that Mr. Roosevelt possesses to-day ampler powers than are conferred on Edward the Seventh. Then, again, we enjoy in both countries, thanks be to God, the inestimable blessings of civil and

religious liberty. Our respective governments hold over us the ægis for their protection without interfering with us in the exercise of our religion and in our God-given right of conscience.

What better evidence can we have of the blessed influence of a Board of Arbitration than the result which followed from the recent conference in England; where prominent Englishmen and Americans were assembled to settle the Alaskan boundary? Our distinguished friend, the Chairman of this meeting, the Honorable John W. Foster, has come back to us laden with honors, with his brow crowned with laurels, in consequence of the victory which he achieved there, a victory which he achieved without the shedding of a single drop of blood. And although he was aided by admirable colleagues in this work which he accomplished, if his own modesty would permit him to speak he would say to us in the language of Æneas when he spoke of the Trojan War, *quorum pars magna fui*.

What does the late Board of Arbitration prove? It proves that the pen is mightier than the sword; that peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war; that all schemes conceived in passion or fomented by ambition, are destined like the mountain torrent to leave ruin and desolation after them, while the counsels of men assembled under the guidance of heaven, shed their silent blessings around them like the dew of heaven, and bring forth fruit in due season.

Let us, ladies and gentlemen, cherish the pious hope that the day is not so far distant when the reign of the Prince of Peace will be established upon this earth, when kings and princes and rulers will be so far swayed by the influence of the Gospel of Peace that battles or wars will be settled, not in the camps, but in the Temple of Peace; when wars will be adjusted not by standing armies but by boards of arbitration; when wars will be adjusted not by the sword but by the pen, which is mightier than the sword, especially when that pen is wielded by upright citizens and statesmen who are actuated solely by a love of peace and the progress of Christian civilization. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. We have heard from the church; we will now hear from the army; and I am happy to say that the head of the army for some years past has been the ardent friend of peace and has co-operated with us on our committees for the promotion

of arbitration. I have the honor to introduce Lieutenant-General Miles. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, I esteem it an honor to join this distinguished company in its consideration of a most important subject. Few words will be expected from me. The subject is in safe hands for on the program there is but one representative of the profession of arms, while there are three holy men of peace who will address you on the subject.

This is one of the most important subjects that affect the nations of the world. We assume to-day that we are an enlightened, civilized people, and making great progress in the paths of peace and humanity. Yet, what is the fact? There are more men, and better armed men in the military and naval service of the nations than we ever marshalled before in the world's history. We hope we are making progress, yet there is some question in that respect, and if we are making progress as we ought to be it will be through the instrumentality and through the earnest efforts of humane, noble, generous, enlightened men such as gathered here to-day and are gathered in other assemblies of like character in every part of the world.

There was a time when great armies were used for national defence, for the protection of the government and the territory controlled by the government. That is somewhat changed at the present time. There seems to be a tendency of the nations having great armies and powerful navies to hunt together rather than to hunt each other. That to me threatens greater danger to liberty, to equality, to progress, than any one element that threatens mankind. (Applause.) It is well for patriotic people to defend their own country, to defend their frontier, to defend their systems of government; but it is a serious thing when there shall be combinations of great powers seeking the world over, finding weak countries to conquer and subjugate and ally to a few great nations. (Applause.)

If that principle were carried out I fear that liberty, independence, the rights of man, would be in imminent danger, and the spirit of arbitration would be regarded more earnestly than at the present time. In this realm of thought we have a grand

illustration. Within a short time the man who controls the mightiest army, at the head of a nation of 130,000,000 strong people, the autocrat of all the Russias, has given his mighty influence towards the establishment of a Congress of Nations, a Peace Congress, which shall reduce the expenses of great armies and navies, to settle questions in a rational, candid, just and humane way, and enabling other countries that are now burdened with the expense of powerful armies and navies to adjust their differences in a congress of civilized, enlightened, intelligent, humane men. We trust that if that is the action of the most powerful autocrat of the world, that intelligent Americans would add everything which it is possible in their power to add to promote such a commendable enterprise. Arbitration is not altogether commendable for the powerful. There is no particular credit in resorting to arbitration when both parties are afraid or equally matched, and fearing that their countries may be overrun, devastated, impoverished. The most commendable theory of arbitration is that of the high sense of honor and justice and humanity. (Applause.) It is far more commendable for a powerful nation to lay aside for the time being its great power and influence and say to the weak, the helpless, we will adjust our differences as between men, and we will be governed by a high sense of honor and justice. That is commendable, that is grand and glorious; and I trust that not only this measure that is being advocated and urged to-day between two powerful nations speaking the same language, having many common interests, will be adopted; but I trust it will be the stepping-stone, the example, to all nations of the world to unite in a better consideration and a better understanding and a better settlement of the differences that divide them. (Applause.)

Men are accustomed to resort to the civil courts or courts of arbitration to settle their differences. Why should not governments, that are the creation, the toleration of man, be governed by the same rule, more or less, that governs individuals? (Applause.)

I wish you every success. Nothing in my judgment is more worthy of the support of intelligent, enlightened people and of all people than this very work that is being advocated by the gentlemen here present and by those associated with them. This

will contribute more to the peace, the prosperity, the welfare of mankind, than any other one measure of human ingenuity and thought. I wish it success, and every effort should be made by men and women everywhere to urge the progress of this noble enterprise. (Applause.)

It had been the desire of the Committee of Arrangements that Admiral George Dewey should follow General Miles in a brief address, and the Admiral had expected to be present, but was detained at home by ill-health. He has expressed himself as in sympathy with the movement, and acted as a member of the Local Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. No living man has better earned the gratitude and respect of his fellow citizens of the United States than the gentleman who is next to address us. In his earlier days he wrote a remarkable story which has been quickening the patriotism of Americans from that day to this, and will continue to do so long after he has gone; and in these last years, he having been long spared to us, he has given his time to the promotion of peace and good will among men. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you Dr. Edward Everett Hale. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

Why do people call this an experiment? It is an experiment one hundred and thirteen years old. At that time thirteen little States, States some of them as small as the smallest of which the General has been speaking, the small ones not daring to trust themselves to the large ones—to Massachusetts or Virginia—not caring to stand alone against the wealth and strength of Europe, united, made the United States. Local government to the States, national government to the United States. And from that time to this time the hyphen between the two words has been thicker and thicker and stronger and stronger. In the 117 or 118 odd years, whatever it is, the country as a nation has become stronger and stronger. But were there no reasons for quarreling, reasons for quarreling just such as had been keeping Europe in war from the fourth century? Thirteen little States determined to unite and did unite. The experiment was tried then. Between that time and this time those States have only once been at war with each other, and that war was one question,

which, with their eyes open, they left out from their Treaty of Arbitration, from the federal constitution. It served them right, as we say in Yankeeland. With that exception these States, then thirteen, now forty-five, have lived in peace with one another, so entirely at peace with one another that this nation as a nation does not know what war is. A Russian gentleman told me that he had travelled from place to place and had never seen a soldier in twelve months, and I said "what do you want to see a soldier for?" "Well" he said, "Is it not a good thing to have the government brought before the eyes of the people every day?" I said "Yes, I think it is a very good thing; but the government brings me my letters, that is the way I know there is a national government. Haven't your letters been brought to you?" (Applause and laughter.) He said "Yes, the postoffice service is beyond compare." I said, "That is what the government is for."

A few years ago, the last time I came from California, I was going up the Mississippi river from St. Louis to Chicago on the western side of the river, and I was talking to one of the most intelligent gentlemen in America, one of those great statesmen which the Mississippi Valley is furnishing for our use—as accomplished a man as there is in Washington. I said to him "Is that the Des Moines river, we crossed just now?" Mark you a man who knows the geography of the country between here and Boston. "The Des Moines river?" "Oh, yes, I ought to know; of course, I ought to know; but really I have not kept myself up about that. The next time I come down this way I will know where the Des Moines river is." Why should I have asked him? It is no disgrace to any person in this city if he does not know; but it did happen that the Des Moines river was the Rubicon of the continent; it did happen that the army of Iowa was arrayed on one side of the river with flints in their muskets and bullets in their guns and that the Army of the Missouri was on the other side of the river with flints in their muskets and bullets in their guns. Why was there no war? Because the constitution of 1787 created a supreme court, a court before which Presidents have had to bow, a court before which Massachusetts and Virginia and proud States have had to bow. It created a Supreme Court.

I should not wound or insult any audience in Massachusetts

if I, an old man of eighty, chose to tell the people before me on any occasion that within the century Massachusetts and Rhode Island were as near to war as ever Russia was to Prussia, excepting that there was a supreme court. Massachusetts had to bring her case before the Supreme Court ; Rhode Island had to bring her case before the Supreme Court—a welding power. According to the old rules of life of civilization as it was called, Massachusetts and Rhode Island would have had to mourn, the one a victory and the other a defeat, because victories and defeats are equally painful to men. That has been going on for a hundred years. Do you suppose that thing goes without sensible people watching it? Do you suppose this history of ours, where we have had a Supreme Court binding thirteen States, twenty States, forty-five States together, goes without attention by the statesmen of the other parts of the world? Not a bit of it, not a bit of it.

People who like to find fault entertain us by saying that the Emperor of Russia is a liar of the first kind. Ha, ha! Why should the Emperor of Russia pretend that he wants peace? Why should you ascribe to that man any wrong motive when for five years at least he has kept the peace of the world? Why should you say that a thing is a dream because you want convulsion all the time? No ; people who show such evidence of love of peace as the Czar has shown deserve some credit.

Six or seven years ago he asked that the world might pause and see if there were any arbitration other than this arbitration of war. The cabinets of the world excepting in America did not take much stock, as we say, in the undertaking. But when higher and higher the thermometer rose, when the men of affairs of England and America and Russia and Germany insisted upon it that there should be peace and not war, then in four or five rapid months leading editorials became optimistic instead of pessimistic, and by the concurrence of three of the great nations—America, England and Russia—the tribunal of The Hague was established. It was not what Mr. Tennyson calls a parliament of peace ; it was something greater than a parliament of peace—it was a supreme court among nations. Twenty-four nations at the conference ; sixteen nations afterwards at Mexico have bound this world together into an agreement, for a supreme tribunal.

Before that supreme tribunal these little questions of boundary will have to give way. (Applause.) Before that supreme tribunal let us hope the world will be linked together. That is not a hard thing to do if you undertake to do it. I submitted to a great engineer two years ago the question how much a quadruple line of rail, four lines of rail, between St. Petersburg and the Pacific, between Cairo and the Capes, between Hudson Bay and the Straits of Magellan would cost, and he told me that if I would give him the military and naval expenses of Europe and America for one year he could build my four railroads from the Pacific to the Atlantic, my four railroads from Cairo to the Capes, my four railroads from Hudson Bay to the Straits of Magellan, and then there would be enough money left to build them over again. (Applause.)

Do you suppose that my friends on the left or my friends on the right do not know this? And do you suppose that the bankers of the world do not know this? I had the great pleasure and honor to be at the Second Centennial of Yale College the other day. I was sitting about where you are, sir, and in a little pause between speaking I saw coming forward Mr. Choate, our American Ambassador in England. And Mr. Choate took the right hand of Chief Justice Fuller, the Chief Justice of America, and he took in the left hand Chief Justice Martens, as we call him, the European statesman who has sat in so many of these arbitrations that men call him the Chief Justice of Christendom. I saw the Chief Justice of Christendom introduced to the Chief Justice of the United States by the American Ambassador at the Court of King Edward. I was an American, and the memory of one of those little incidents encourages me in such a meeting as we are having. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. Of all the races of the world the one which has most shown the superiority and the beneficence of intellect over brute force is to be represented by the next speaker, Rev. Doctor Joseph Silverman, of New York City. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF REV. DR. JOSEPH SILVERMAN.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the remark which you have just uttered; that I stand here as a representative of that race which has withstood brute force by reason, and I am glad to

speaking a word this afternoon on behalf of universal peace. There is an old saying "In time of peace, prepare for war." I think the motto of our organization ought to be "In time of peace, prepare for *peace* by peaceful means." (Applause.)

If it is honorable to gain peace sometimes by war, it is certainly more honorable to secure peace by amicable measures. It is comparatively no great achievement to quiet an enemy and force him to peace by a superior power, by means of superior machinery; but it is a great achievement to turn an enemy into a friend by appeal to truth, to right, to justice, to sweet reasonableness. (Applause.)

I am proud to stand here, as a Jew, to speak thus because, though a weak people in comparison with the other great powerful nations of the world, the Jew has always been an advocate of peace. Our Bible and your Bible, the world's Bible, by inheritance and by adoption, is replete with injunctions, to "seek peace and pursue peace," and to "seek for the welfare of the city." The psalmist breaks forth in those beautiful words that are never too often repeated, "How pleasant and how beautiful it is when brethren dwell together in unity."

And how shall universal peace be achieved? It is said, by arbitration. That means by reason. This is not so difficult to attain at this stage of civilization. Fifty years ago it was not thought of. We have already achieved something that we are willing to discuss the possibilities of universal peace. Fifty years ago the treaty that is contemplated between England and America, to submit all differences to arbitration, was not thought of, and would not have been entertained by either nation, and the chances of success if proposed would have been very slender. But to-day there are great hopes for success, and why? Because we are working along the line of natural progress. Man has developed hitherto on physical lines. His evolution from now on is on spiritual lines. We have learned that man cannot live by bread alone, as he did several thousand years ago, and nations cannot get along well in the world by brute force alone. They must for their own salvation, for the welfare of man, live at peace and obtain peace through amicable means. While I am at this point I beg your indulgence if I say that there is some justification for impugning the right of any man, even be he the ruler of a

powerful nation, who advocates peace on the one hand and on the other permits thousands of his people, his subjects, to be butchered. (Applause.) And arbitration is not enough. I believe it was Umpire Carroll D. Wright, who, a few days ago in regard to some labor troubles, said: "In labor troubles we have arrived at that stage when we must conclude that arbitration is not the real solution." As long as there are means of force still possible there will be no peace between capital and labor, and as long as the world will be armed to the teeth arbitration will not be enough. When I lived out West there occurred often the following incident: Two men have a financial difference and they say, "let us leave it to a referee." The referee gives his decision and then he who loses the award draws his revolver and says: "Notwithstanding the decision you will pay me in money or in blood." As long as the nations of the world will have their large standing armies and their large navies they will find some way to evade even the decisions arrived at by arbitration. (Applause.)

In a final analysis it must come to this: That the world must favor general disarmament, and that nations shall only have such armies as are necessary for the internal peace of a country. (Applause.)

We have united here to-day these two flags of England and America. May that be an emblem of the unity of the two nations they represent, and may it be also a symbol of the unity of all nations. We are making history to-day; we are laying the corner-stone of that structure that may be erected in the future, the universal republic. In the Scripture we are told that Paradise was guarded by two cherubim, and we have an interpretation of the old Rabbis that these cherubim are truth and right. The meaning is plain—you cannot enter Paradise save through these avenues. In our flag is the blue denoting the Heaven of Peace in which are already settled numerous States denoted by the stars. This Heaven of Peace is guarded by the two cherubim, the bars of red and white which represent truth and right. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee of Arrangements had provided a speaker with the view of representing both the press and the southern section of our country. For unavoidable reasons, Mr.

Clark Howell, of Atlanta, Georgia, is prevented from being with us at this time. But we have a representative of the South to take his place, a man when you see him you will wonder it is so, but who in his immature youth carried a Confederate musket, and in his later and maturer years he carried the cause of his country, his whole country, to London, and defended it there with such conspicuous success that I know you will be glad to see and hear him on this occasion. The Cardinal has very kindly referred to my part in that event, but there is one better and worthier to speak for the cause of his country in the adjudication of the Alaskan boundary than I, and I now present the Honorable J. M. Dickinson, senior counsel before the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF HON. J. M. DICKINSON.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : Every true lover of his country, every man whose heart goes out toward all humanity, must feel and see that this is an auspicious day. You have gathered in this city representative men from all sections of the United States who have laid aside their personal pursuits, and enlisted for the time being in the cause of humanity, and are seeking to bring about in the world the establishment of a forum which will submit to judgment and reason and law those contests which hitherto have been submitted solely to the arbitrament of battle ; and this outpouring of the citizens of this enlightened city shows how nearly the purposes which they have at heart lie to the hearts of all those who are present, and their efforts begun to-day will receive strength and impulse from the endorsement which your presence here indicates. It was the proper thing that this Convention to-day should be presided over by the Honorable John W. Foster, your distinguished fellow-citizen (applause), and never was truer speech uttered than that uttered a short while ago by Cardinal Gibbons on this platform, when he said that to him more than all others was due the happy conclusion of the recent contest we had with Great Britain before the Alaskan Tribunal. (Applause.) The lawyers played a part, but I say to you in all frankness and candor that they played a minor part in the conduct of that great controversy. It was a fortunate thing for the country that the Secretary of State and the President had

the faith and courage to make a treaty which was unique, as this was in Paris; it was a fortunate thing that the preparation of the case of the United States was entrusted to one whose knowledge of the diplomatic history of the United States enabled this country to present its case with such thoroughness and such completeness that even after the argument was finished and all questions had been threshed out, looking back in retrospect there was nothing that the counsel for the United States wished to add to or to take from the case which General Foster presented. (Applause.)

An allusion was made to the fact that I am from the South. Who, ladies and gentlemen, have greater reason to look to that auspicious day when peace will reign supreme and war shall no more disturb the affairs of men than those who went through probably the bloodiest and most hurtful war in modern times? We talk of the recuperation of the South. It has recuperated wonderfully in all material resources. Schiller has said that Germany was more than a hundred years recuperating from the thirty years' war, and it will be fully a hundred years before the South will have recovered from the destruction of its manhood. An invaded country always suffers. If the reverse had been presented the North would have suffered, just as the South did; because her people, true and loyal to their principles, brave as Americans ever have been, would have fought for their standard just as was done by the Southern people for theirs; and as was said by General Grant, the cradle and the grave alike were robbed to fill the ranks of the Southern army. What the South suffers more to-day from than anything else is the destruction which it experienced of its young manhood, and the strength and intellectual force which it would now enjoy has largely been impaired by the fact that not a tenth but probably fifty per cent. of those who would now represent the intellectual force and vigor and moral grandeur of the country went down to untimely graves. I therefore ask what country on the face of the earth, what people upon the face of the earth, are more interested in the principles of arbitration and universal peace than those who went through that fearful and trying ordeal?

The church has advocated arbitration in the person of his Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons. General Miles representing the soldiery, has advocated it, and it is no less proper that those who

stand always as the representatives of the forum should plant themselves side by side with the church and with the soldiery. Indeed it may be imputed to the lawyers that they are somewhat selfish in this matter; that if everything goes into the courts of arbitration the lawyers will have a picnic and a harvest; but we will say to the soldiers that if they turn their swords into pruning-hooks and if the cannon will be turned into plowshares, we will take them in and march side by side, as they have always generously opened their ranks to us whenever the cause of the country has demanded it. (Applause and laughter.)

The general scope and purpose of this resolution is to submit as far as practicable all questions to some tribunal where in calmness and in judgment, free from passion stirred by controversies by politicians and newspapers, matters will be tried out and the facts ascertained in their last analysis.

It was suggested in the Conference this morning that possibly there were certain classes of questions that should not be submitted, and those questions were questions which involved points of honor. It is hard to determine what is a point of honor. We know that less than fifty years ago Washington had its Bladensburg which reeked with blood upon points of honor. Now this community would not for a moment sanction, and no man could stand in the face of popular disapprobation, upon the points of honor that even then drove them to those settlements upon the bloody field of the duel. And why may it not be that nations will be educated so that the light of peace and judgment will fit them like a garment, just as it now fits the individual? And it seems to me that it is upon this very class of questions that they ought to seek the interposition of some third party. They, least of all, probably are competent to pass upon a mere question of a point of honor, and certainly least of all are they disposed to yield to it. Frequently they are in the position of the man who had the bear by the ears and wanted someone to help him turn the bear loose. (Laughter.) And it might be that the interposition of impartial nations, or a tribunal established by impartial nations, would enable them upon these very points of honor to get rid of the controversy which would bear upon them very acutely, and it seems to me that of all questions probably these very questions involving points of honor are the questions which should be referred to tribunals of this character. (Applause.)

Just to illustrate, if you will bear with me for a moment. I was at a barbecue once in Tennessee, and was talking to a one-armed Baptist preacher. The preacher said that he believed in the *code duello*. I was shocked at his statement and asked him what he meant by that. I said, "A gentleman of your cloth believes in the *code duello*?" He said, "Did you ever see a code?" "No, I never did," I replied. "Well, if the code is followed out there can never be a duel," he said. "How is that," said I. He said, "It is the business of those who represent the combatants to trace back by inverse method until they get to the first cause of the controversy, the first wrong and the first insult, and then it is their duty to require that some adequate apology shall be made." That was in my mind some years afterward, when two lawyers, both high-spirited men, got into a controversy and it became very certain that they would have a personal encounter. Three or four of their friends got together and consulted and asked them if they were willing to submit their difficulty to us and abide by whatever we would unanimously say should be equally honorable to both parties. They could not decline that. We were their brother lawyers, their colleagues, and they consented to sign the paper. Then we began to trace back the controversy, writing them notes and getting specific answers, and finally got back to the first wrong. We saw that it originated in a misunderstanding and determined that a proper apology should be made. And after all four of these mutual friends had signed an agreement we presented it to them and they were forced to sign it.

Now, what better act could determine the course of a nation than to have points of honor determined by some court of the character of The Hague Tribunal, or by a conclusion of other nations, and if other nations said that the point of honor was satisfied here, would not that be a better solution of the question than to rush into war upon an arbitrary determination that they would decide for themselves what the satisfaction of their honor demanded? (Applause.)

I think that it is very proper that the overtures in a matter of this sort should come from a great nation like the American people and a great nation like the British people. If this movement had originated in some weak country conscious of its own weakness it would be different; but America, that has always been

successful in arms, that has nothing to fear, can stand up in its grandeur and strength and make an overture of peace, and make that overture to a country like Great Britain, powerful in its consciousness of its strength and convinced that no step that it would take in that direction would be an indication of any weakness on its part.

Lord Russell, when he addressed the American Bar Association, at Saratoga, referring to these two nations, said that no cause they opposed could triumph, that no cause they espoused could fail. And it will be an auspicious day indeed for the world if America and Great Britain shall make a treaty of this character, and if such a treaty be the outcome of this Convention to-day, endorsed as it is by this assembly, then all who have taken a part in it may for all time to come congratulate themselves that it has been their good fortune to be participants in such a movement. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. It is not on the program, but I want to give this great audience an opportunity to endorse the resolutions, which you have heard read, if you are prepared to do so. I should like you to give such an approval by your vote of ayes to-day that might be heard at the other end of Pennsylvania avenue. (Applause.) We want to hear the ladies' voices over the tumult of the men's voices here to-day, and I ask all who believe that the resolutions are right and are in favor of them to say aye.

The large audience responded loudly as invited.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any person opposed to them? If so, we will hear him.

There was no response. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. It would not be complimentary to the gentlemen who have already spoken if I said that the Committee on Arrangements had reserved the best for the last, but we have now to hear the great apostle of arbitration and peace, Andrew Carnegie. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I came to Washington at the request of one of whose request to me is as a command. You have heard strong tributes paid to our Chairman, Secretary Foster, to-day. He deserves every word that has been

said. Although some of you who know less than I about it may have thought that his valuable services may have been somewhat exaggerated, it is not so. I visited Washington once years ago to meet Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, and President Harrison, upon a most delicate question of international import. And after the policy had been settled Mr. Blaine said to me, walking home, "Foster keeps us all right." (Applause.)

Let me prophesy, gentlemen, this cause for which we are now assembled, his present work, is to prove the greatest of all, and that if health be spared him he will be as well known to the world as one of our great and wisest statesmen as he is now known to the few, his colleagues and friends. (Applause.)

I have just been reminded that it is eighteen years since I first appeared in Washington before a congressional committee to urge international arbitration. Eight years ago I had the privilege of introducing to President Cleveland the Parliamentary Committee from Great Britain who urged such a treaty as we now wish to have, and to-day I begin again to labor in the same cause.

A good cause, like truth, crushed to earth rises again, Phoenix-like from its ashes; it knows no such word as fail; the eternal years of God are hers. (Applause.)

I will delay you only a moment. Much has been said about honor. The most dishonored word in the English language is honor. (Applause.) As Mr. Dickinson has just pointed out, fifty or sixty years ago honor would have required you to march as Hamilton did to meet Aaron Burr. To-day the gentleman belonging to the race that speak the English tongue would be degraded if he fought a duel. Honor has changed; it changes as we change. Not so long ago, even with us, men were always fearing lest they might be dishonored by somebody else; now we know that is impossible. No man can be dishonored except by himself. So with nations; all the world combined cannot stain the fair name of the republic. As long as she herself acts honorably she remains stainless. We develop and abolish the duel. Who did it? Our own English-speaking race; and this is one of its grandest triumphs. Let it be our aim now to take the next step forward and abolish international duels; let us have them settled by the supreme court of humanity. You have spoken of The Hague Court, sir. The twentieth century is to

be distinguished above all other things for this tribunal. Historians are to record that there first appeared upon the earth in this century an international court, the supreme court of the world, as you have just said, to settle international disputes, and this great fact will make the century famous in the development of man. Ladies and gentlemen, we come together to urge this cause at an auspicious moment. Never since separation has the English-speaking race been so close together, both in their governments and in their people. Do not be afraid; Mr. Dickinson tells you the truth. He has no doubt of the answer we shall get from the other branch, Great Britain. Great Britain longs for such a treaty as we propose to offer here.

Something was said about the limitations of a treaty. I care less for the provisions of a treaty than for the treaty itself, limited though it may be at first. I am perfectly willing to begin with limitations, having such faith in this that we can trust to long years of peace, to kinship, common language, literature, religion, law to create a public sentiment which will expand the scope of any treaty no matter how narrow it be at the beginning. And thus it is I see that however small the acorn may be that springs, and we plant from this effort of to-day, it will grow into the mighty oak under whose branches shelter will be found for the seed to germinate which will bring peace to all nations, and purge the earth of its foulest stain—men killing each other in battle like wild beasts. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. On behalf of the Conference I thank this great audience for their presence on this auspicious occasion, and their interest in the subject of arbitration.

The exercises of the day closed with the singing of "America" by the audience standing, led by the U. S. Marine Band.

International Arbitration Conference.

ENDORSEMENTS OF THE RESOLUTIONS
BY VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS
RECEIVED AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE
CONFERENCE.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL BOARD OF TRADE AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WASHINGTON, JANUARY 19, 1904.

Whereas, the material interests of our country and of others are promoted and favorably affected by adjustment of international differences by arbitration through such facilities as are afforded by The Hague Tribunal and others: therefore,

Resolved, by the National Board of Trade, That the progress made and being made by the principal nations of the world in recognition of the principle and in acceptance of the plan of arbitration as a means for settlement of international differences and disputes is regarded with profound satisfaction as in the interest of higher civilization and the welfare of all the people of the nations participating in such peaceful methods, and should continue to have every possible encouragement by our government.

The foregoing was followed by the ratification of the resolutions passed by the Arbitration Conference, January 12, 1904.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO.

I, Rollin A. Keyes, Secretary of the Commercial Club of Chicago, do hereby certify that at a regular meeting of the club held January 30th, 1904, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

(Here follow the preamble and resolutions adopted by the International Arbitration Conference, at Washington, January 12, 1904.)

It is further Resolved, That the foregoing action of the Commercial Club of Chicago be communicated to the President of the United States, and to the Honorable Shelby M. Cullom and

the Honorable Albert J. Hopkins, United States Senators from Illinois.

Witness my hand this 8th day of February, A. D. 1904.

(Signed) **ROLLIN A. KEYES,**
Secretary.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO.

George E. Adams,	Clarence Buckingham,
J. Ogden Armour,	Daniel H. Burnham,
Edward E. Ayer,	Edward B. Butler,
Adolphus C. Bartlett,	Herman B. Butler,
Enos M. Barton,	Benjamin Carpenter,
William L. Brown,	Leslie Carter,
Eugene Cary,	David B. Jones,
William J. Chalmers,	Chauncey Keep,
John M. Clark,	Rollin A. Keyes,
Albert J. Earling,	Elbridge G. Keith,
James H. Eckels,	Charles F. Kimball,
J. Harley Bradley,	Herman H. Kohlsaat,
Bernard A. Eckhart,	Victor F. Lawson,
John V. Farwell, Jr.,	Thies J. Lefens,
Marshall Field,	Robert T. Lincoln,
James B. Forgan,	Cyrus H. McCormick,
William A. Fuller,	Henry J. Macfarland,
John J. Glessner,	Franklin MacVeagh,
Ernest A. Hamil,	John J. Mitchell,
Franklin H. Head,	Joy Morton,
Harlow N. Higinbotham,	Francis B. Peabody,
James L. Houghteling,	Erskine M. Phelps,
Marvin Hughitt,	Norman B. Ream,
Charles H. Hulburd,	Edward P. Ripley,
Charles L. Hutchinson,	Martin A. Ryerson,
Samuel Insull,	John G. Shedd,
Byron L. Smith,	Louis F. Swift,
John A. Spoor,	Charles H. Wacker,
Albert A. Sprague,	George C. Walker,
William S. Warren.	

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NEW YORK STATE BAR ASSOCIATION.

ALBANY, N. Y., Jan'y 27, 1904.

I hereby certify that, at the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the New York State Bar Association held in the Common Council Chamber, in the City Hall, at Albany, on the 20th day of January, 1904, Everett P. Wheeler, Esq., presented to the meeting the resolutions adopted by the Arbitration Conference held in Washington on January 12, 1904, and on his motion the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the New York State Bar Association concurs in the resolutions adopted by the Arbitration Conference at Washington, January 12, 1904 ;

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President of the Association to co-operate with the committees appointed by the Conference, in order to carry into effect the resolutions adopted at Washington.

Attest :

FREDERICK E. WADHAMS,

[SEAL.]

Secretary, New York State Bar Association.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE NEW HAVEN, CONN.,
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, JANUARY 25, 1904.

Whereas at the National Arbitration Conference held in the city of Washington on the 12th day of January, 1904, the following resolutions were unanimously passed :

[Here follow the resolutions passed by the Washington Conference on January 12.]

Now, therefore, Resolved by the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New Haven, That the action of said International Arbitration Conference is heartily endorsed and approved.

Resolved, That the industrial, financial and commercial interests of all nations are now so closely interwoven that the loss or injury

of one caused by war, necessarily becomes, to some extent, the loss or injury of all.

Resolved, That the burdens of industry and commerce in supporting great armies and navies in time of peace, as well as of war, will be materially lightened whenever from time to time international arbitration as a substitute for war has become the settled policy of the United States, Great Britain, and the other civilized nations of the world.

Resolved, That the President of this Chamber of Commerce be requested to cause copies of these resolutions to be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and to each of the Senators and Representatives of Connecticut in the Congress of the United States.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW HAVEN (CONN.) INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 3, 1904.

(First reciting the resolutions passed by the Conference in Washington.)

Now, therefore, Resolved by the New Haven International Arbitration Committee, That the resolutions adopted by said National Arbitration Conference are heartily endorsed and approved.

It was voted that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each of the following named: President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hay, Senators Hawley and Platt and to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

RESOLUTION OF GLOUCESTER, MASS., BOARD OF TRADE.

Resolved, That the Gloucester Board of Trade, representing the commercial and industrial interests of Gloucester, considers the consolidation of friendship between this country and the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland a necessity for the prosperity of commercial intercourse between the two nations, and welcomes heartily the proposal to reopen negotiations for a permanent treaty of arbitration between them as promoting this object.

Resolved, That such a treaty between the two great Anglo-Saxon peoples moreover would advance the cause of permanent peace throughout the civilized world.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the United States Senators and members of the House of Representatives representing Massachusetts in Congress.

A true copy.

Attest:

E. K. BURNHAM,

Secretary.

International Arbitration Conference.

LETTERS RECEIVED BY THE COMMITTEE FROM
THOSE UNABLE TO BE PRESENT AT THE
MEETINGS BUT EXPRESSING SYMPATHY
IN THE OBJECTS OF THE CONFER-
ENCE, WITH OCCASIONAL
QUOTATIONS.

LETTERS RECEIVED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Col. ARCHER ANDERSON, Richmond, Va.

Hon. MAX ADLER, New Haven, Conn.

President EDWIN A. ALDERMAN, Tulane University, New Orleans.

RUFUS A. AYERS, Esq., Big Stone Gap, Va.

Hon. HENRY M. ATKINSON, Atlanta, Ga.

President JAMES B. ANGELL, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS, Boston, Mass.

Hon. FRANK M. ANGELLOTTI, Associate Justice, Supreme Court of California :

The work proposed is one that should have the hearty support and sympathy of all good citizens.

JAMES W. ALEXANDER, Esq., New York.

Hon. MILTON E. AILES, Washington, D. C.

FINLEY ACKER, Esq., Philadelphia.

Gen. WILLIAM A. AIKEN, Norwich, Conn. :

The end to be attained is certainly worthy of the sympathy of every good citizen of our great republic.

Hon. WILLIAM A. ANDERSON, Attorney General of Virginia :

The objects which your Association is organized to promote appeal forcibly to any one who has the interest of his fellow-men at heart, and I wish the Association God-speed in their work.

Rev. Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT, New York :

I should like to be recorded as being very heartily in favor of the movement in our time to secure the settlement of international difficulties by the appeal to reason rather than by the appeal to force ; that is, by judicial proceedings, not by war. I should be very glad to see a treaty made between the United States and Great Britain by which those two countries would agree to submit all questions that may arise between them to The Hague Tribunal, or, if that is impracticable, to some other form of pacific arbitration.

Hon. CHARLES B. AYCOCK, Governor of North Carolina.

I am in full sympathy with the work of the Conference.

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, LL. D., Chancellor, University of Nebraska.

Hon. EDWARD ATKINSON, Boston, Mass. :

Our movement must now pass on into the practical and definite demand from the chambers of commerce of this country for a treaty with the United Kingdom and then with France and Germany.

JOSEPH BRYAN, Esq., Richmond, Va.

Prof. M. G. BRUMBAUGH, University of Pennsylvania :

I * * * hasten to assure you of my abiding interest in the cause of arbitration.
* * *

A. C. BRAXTON, Esq., Staunton, Va.

CARTER BERKELEY, Esq., Staunton, Va. :

I can safely say that it is a widespread sentiment throughout Virginia that just such a treaty between this country and England as this Conference will seek to bring about ought to be adopted.

CHARLES M. BUSBEE, Esq., Raleigh, N. C.

HELM BRUCE, Esq., Louisville, Ky.

J. C. BAHLHORN, Esq., LaFayette, Ind.

Hon. J. C. W. BECKHAM, Governor of Kentucky :

Sends hopes that the result of the Conference will prove of much benefit to the cause it advocates.

Hon. JAMES A. BEAVER, Justice of the Superior Court of Pennsylvania :

The time for such a movement seems to be entirely auspicious, and I hope the movement will receive great impetus from the sessions of the Conference as proposed.

RICHARD H. BATTLE, Esq., Raleigh, N. C. :

Among Christian nations, in these days of increasing civilization, it seems to me all questions in difference should be settled by mutual concessions of the parties, or, failing that, by arbitration, so as to exclude the possibility of a resort to arms.

Hon. CORNELIUS N. BLISS, New York.

OTTO T. BARNARD, Esq., New York.

A. C. BARTLETT, Esq., Chicago.

Hon. THOMAS BURKE, Seattle, Washington.

R. T. BARTON, Esq., Winchester, Va.

Hon. JOHN L. BATES, Governor of Massachusetts.

(For letter see page 44.)

Capt. JAMES BUMGARDNER, Staunton, Virginia.

W. CABELL BRUCE, Esq., City Solicitor, Baltimore.

GEORGE E. BARTOL, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. WILLIAM C. P. BRECKINRIDGE, Lexington, Ky. :

I have always been an advocate of some more feasible system of international arbitration,—the creation by treaty of international tribunals and some ready and peaceable mode of adjusting national differences.

HENRY D. BURNES, M. D., New Orleans, La.

TEMPLE BODLEY, Esq., Valmora Ranch, New Mexico.

Hon. JAMES M. BARRETT, Fort Wayne, Ind. :

It is a particularly auspicious time for the holding of such Conference when the clouds of war seem to be lowering in the East, and I doubt not that the great work of your Conference will greatly contribute to the realization of the hopes of the great body of American people to avert the calamities of war between the now apparently belligerent great nations.

JAMES WILSON BAYARD, Esq., Philadelphia.

Dr. M. P. BURKS, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

Hon. W. D. BLOXHAM, Tallahassee, Fla. :

I trust that your counsels may result in strongly tending to consecrate the statesmanship of the country to the cause of international arbitration, and that our civilization will evolve a strifeless progress while Janus rests with rusted door.

GEORGE F. BAER, Esq., Prest., Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, Philadelphia :

I am in hearty sympathy with every movement tending to settle national differences by arbitration, and will gladly do whatever is within my power to strengthen public opinion in its favor.

Hon. JOHN H. BAKER, Retired U. S. District Judge, Goshen, Ind. :

I earnestly sympathize in the purposes of the Conference.

EDWARD BROOKS, Esq., Board of Public Education, Philadelphia.

Dr. EDWARD A. BIRGE, Acting President, University of Wisconsin :

I sympathize very strongly with the purposes of the Arbitration Conference.

BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE :

A committee was appointed to represent the Chamber at the Conference. (For resolutions see page 43.)

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE of Buffalo, New York.

Hon. NOBLE C. BUTLER, Indianapolis, Ind. :

In my opinion, the objects of the Conference should have the earnest support of all patriotic citizens.

Prest. WM. L. BRYAN, Indiana University.

Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, Judge Supreme Court of Errors, New Haven, Conn.

Hon. R. W. BUTTERFIELD, Grand Rapids, Mich.

WM. P. BANCROFT, Esq., Wilmington, Del.

Prest. H. B. BROWN, Valparaiso College, Indiana.

Hon. CHAS. JEROME BONAPARTE, Baltimore Md.

Prest. J. W. BASHFORD, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.

Prest. S. B. BROOKS, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

ARTHUR BROCK, Esq., Philadelphia.

WILLIAM BABCOCK, Esq., San Francisco.

CHAS. E. BOLLING, Esq., Richmond, Va.

Hon. BEVERLY T. CRUMP, Chairman of the State Corporation Commission of Virginia :

The objects and purposes of the Arbitration Conference should have the best wishes, as well as the co-operation of all our citizens.

Hon. WILLIAM E. CAMERON, Petersburg, Va.

Hon. M. L. CRAWFORD, Dallas, Texas :

It does appear to me that the time has come when "Good men should cease to kill good men, and patriots cease to butcher patriots."

WILLIAM EDMOND CURTIS, Esq., New York.

Hon. JOHN G. CARLISLE, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, New York.

Hon. DONELSON CAFFERY, Franklin, La.

CHARLES J. COHEN, Esq., Philadelphia.

Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND, ex-President of the United States,
Princeton, N. J.

(For letter see page 75.)

Hon. ADRIAN CHAMBERLAIN, Governor of Connecticut:

I am very much interested in this matter and trust that it will have the success that it deserves.

HENRY J. COOKINHAM, Esq., Utica, N. Y.:

I am most heartily in favor of the movement undertaken by the Committee, and sincerely hope for the success of its endeavor.

A. H. CHRISTIAN, Jr., Esq., Richmond, Va.:

I trust sincerely that the movement may result in great good.

H. L. CABELL, Esq., Richmond, Va.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE of Cincinnati:

Expressions of sympathy were forwarded through the Superintendent, Mr C. B. Murray.

Hon. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, Governor of Oregon:

I sincerely trust that the deliberations of the Conference soon to be held may be characterized by a harmonious and patriotic spirit, and that they may result in bringing about the adoption of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, by the terms of which these two great powers may be brought to agree to resort to The Hague Tribunal in those cases not susceptible of diplomatic settlement, and under such conditions as will fully protect the rights of the high contracting parties.

Hon. PATRICK COLLINS, Mayor of the City of Boston:

While sympathizing with the object and purposes of the meeting to be held in Washington on January 12, it will be impossible for me to attend.

Hon. W. BOURKE COCKRAN, New York:

The meeting of your society shows a universally growing demand among men for peace, and what men demand unanimously they obtain inevitably. That man has already begun to appreciate the benefits which would flow from general disarmament is clearly shown by the establishment of The Hague Tribunal. * * * I venture to suggest, however, that a movement for arbitration to be successful should be general.

JOSEPH B. CUMMING, Esq., Augusta, Ga.

JOHN H. CONVERSE, Esq., Philadelphia.

JULIAN S. CARR, Esq., Durham, N. C.

GEORGE L. CHRISTIAN, Esq., Richmond, Va.

Hon. HENRY B. COMAN, Morrisville, N. Y. :

I am in most hearty sympathy with the purposes and spirit of your organization, and earnestly hope that the result of your efforts may be all that you desire.

WILLIAM E. CUSHING, Esq., Cleveland, O.

Hon. JOHN CUMMEEN, Attorney General, State of New York.

LUCIAN H. COCKE, Esq., Roanoke, Va.

Hon. ALBERT B. CUMMINS, Governor of Iowa :

I know of no subject better entitled to the serious and persistent consideration of our public men than the one to which your Conference will give attention. I feel that its development will do more for the welfare of humanity than the growth of commerce or the enlargement of sovereignty.

Hon. ALPHONSO P. CLEARWATER, Kingston, N. Y.

HENRY C. COKE, Esq., Dallas, Texas.

Hon. JOSIAH CROSBY, Dexter, Me.

JOHN G. CAPERS, Esq., Charleston, S. C.

BERNARD CARTER, Esq., Baltimore.

Col. THOMAS H. CARTER, University of Virginia.

Hon. T. D. COBBS, San Antonio, Texas.

Hon. ALDEN CHESTER, Justice Supreme Court of New York, Albany :

Expresses deep interest in the Conference.

Hon. W. A. CANDLER, Atlanta, Ga.

Hon. HENRY G. DANFORTH, Rochester, N. Y.

Prest. ANDREW S. DRAPER, LL. D., University of Illinois, Campaign.

Hon. A. M. DOCKERY, Governor of Missouri :

Sends best wishes for the success of the occasion.

THOS. DOLAN, Esq., Philadelphia.

H. H. DOWNING, Esq., Front Royal, Virginia.

WILLIAM T. DIXON, Esq., President, National Exchange Bank of Baltimore.

Hon. GEORGE DU RELLE, Louisville, Ky.

Hon. WILLIAM F. DRAPER, Massachusetts.

Dr. JAMES R. DAY, Chancellor, Syracuse University, Syracuse,
N. Y.

CLEVELAND H. DODGE, Esq., New York.

SAMUEL DICKSON, Esq., Philadelphia.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Esq., Editor "News and Observer," Raleigh,
N. C. :

There is no public service more important than the objects of this Conference.

Rt. Rev. T. M. Dudley, Bishop of Kentucky, Louisville, Ky. :

I am profoundly interested in the purposes of the Conference.

JAMES H. DOOLEY, Esq., Richmond, Va. :

The object to be attained is one of the greatest importance to the nations concerned, and to the whole world.

R. T. W. DUKE, Jr., Esq., Charlottesville, Va.

Major THOMAS C. ELDER, Staunton, Virginia :

My best wishes will be with the Conference, and I hope that the efforts of the friends of international arbitration will be crowned with success.

ARTHUR J. EDDY, Esq., Chicago.

J. TAYLOR ELLYSON, Esq., Richmond, Virginia.

EDWARD ECHOLS, Esq., Staunton, Va.

Hon. JAMES H. ECKELS, Chicago:

I am strongly impressed with the character of the work itself, and the good that may be accomplished by carrying it through.

President CHARLES W. ELLIOTT, LL. D., Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

Hon. GEO. F. EDMUNDS, Vermont :

I earnestly hope that your meeting may be a full one, and that it will speak strongly in support of the great principle of international arbitration, the practice of which seems to be more and more demanded to rectify and mitigate the turbulent fevers of the times.

MARSHALL FIELD, Esq., Chicago.

Hon. CHAS. E. FENNER, New Orleans.

Hon. DAVID R. FRANCIS, President, Universal Exposition, 1904,
St. Louis.

Hon. JOSEPH W. FOLK, Circuit Attorney, St. Louis.

EDGAR H. FARRAR, Esq., New Orleans.

SYDNEY G. FISHER, Esq., Philadelphia.

Hon. FRANCIS P. FLEMING, Jacksonville, Fla. :

A treaty between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations, providing for the arbitration of all questions, so far as consistent with national honor, is an object which should commend itself to the approbation of all patriotic people of our country.

Hon. HENRY FAIRFAX, Richmond, Va.

Hon. JOHN FIELD, Philadelphia.

Hon. JULIUS FLEISCHMANN, Mayor of Cincinnati :

The work which the International Arbitration Conference is engaged in is one which must commend itself to all the people of the United States.

CHARLES J. GREEN, Esq., Omaha, Neb. :

I am deeply interested in the movement to secure a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, and am ready and anxious to contribute whatever I may to its success.

E. STANLEY GARY, Esq., Baltimore, Md.

JOHN B. GARRETT, Esq., Rosemont, Pa.

Prof. NATHAN GREEN, Lebanon, Tenn. :

This is written to assure you of my full sympathy with the object of the meeting.

Rt. Rev. THOMAS F. GAILOR, Bishop of Tennessee :

I send the assurance of my hearty sympathy and of my prayers for God's blessing upon the movement.

A. P. GILLESPIE, Esq., Tazewell, Va.

Hon. JOHN GARBER, San Francisco.

Hon. E. B. GAGER, Justice, Superior Court, Derby, Conn.

J. L. GRANDIN, Esq., Boston, Mass.

FRANK T. GLASGOW, Esq., Lexington, Virginia.

Rt. Rev. CHARLES B. GALLOWAY, Jackson, Miss.

SAMUEL C. GRAHAM, Esq., Tazewell, Va. :

There is no act left to be accomplished by great and friendly nations equal to the result sought by your Conference.

GEORGE R. GAITHER, Esq., Baltimore.

WILLIAM A. GLASGOW, Esq., Roanoke, Va.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, Esq., Editor, "Atlanta News," Atlanta,
Georgia :

I am in profound and hearty sympathy with the spirit and motive of the organization.

WILLIAM W. GORDON, Esq., Savannah, Ga.

HON. CHARLES F. GRAINGER, Mayor of Louisville.

Gen. JOHN B. GORDON, Georgia.

HON. P. S. GROSSCUP, Judge, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals,
Chicago.

HON. JOHN GOODE, Washington, D. C.

THEODORE S. GARNETT, Esq., Norfolk, Va.

ARMISTEAD C. GORDON, Esq., Staunton, Va.

HON. JOHN HUNN, Governor of Delaware :

It surely looks as if arbitration were much needed just now, and I firmly believe it to be the only civilized manner of settling all questions in dispute.

HON. WILLIAM D. HOARD, Fort Atkinson, Wis.

Prest. WM. R. HARPER, LL. D., University of Chicago.

HON. MYRON T. HERRICK, Governor of Ohio.

Prest. WM. D. W. HYDE, LL. D., Bowdoin College, Me.

HENRY L. HIGGINSON, Esq., Boston.

Dean H. B. HUTCHINS, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Dr. C. C. HARRISON, Provost, University of Pennsylvania, Phila.

HON. BENTON HANCHITT, Saginaw, Mich.

HON. D. C. HEYWARD, Governor of South Carolina.

JAS. L. HOUGHTELING, Esq., Chicago.

Prest. ARTHUR T. HADLEY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. :

I sympathize most heartily with the object which you have in view, and wish all success to the measure which you are trying to promote.

HON. W. W. HOWE, New Orleans.

WM. B. HORNBLOWER, Esq., New York :

I sympathize most strongly with the purposes of the Conference.

HAMILTON HOLT, Esq., Editor of the "Independent," New York :

I conceive this to be one of the most important things now before the world.

Hon. EPPA HUNTON, Jr., Richmond, Va. :

I feel deeply and profoundly interested in the object of this Conference, and it seems to me there was never a time so opportune in the history of this government when the aims and purposes of the Conference should be more potentially exercised.

Hon. CHAS. S. HAMLIN, Boston, Mass.

Hon. ALEXANDER P. HUMPHREY, Louisville, Ky.

Hon. JUDSON HARMON, Cincinnati, O. :

I shall be glad to render any aid in my power, and will thank you to let me know what I can do.

JAMES C. HEMPHILL, Esq., Editor, "News and Courier," Charleston, S. C. :

I * * * feel deeply interested in the settlement of international controversies by the arbitrament of reason rather than by that of the sword.

Prest. HENRY HOPKINS, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

WILLIAM D. HUBER, Esq., Indianapolis, Ind.

CLARK HOWELL, Esq., Editor, "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia :

It is needless for me to say that I am heartily in sympathy with the purpose of the Conference, and that I hope the approaching meeting will be productive of substantial results.

Hon. HILARY A. HERBERT, ex-Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

Hon. WILLIAM F. HARRITY, Philadelphia :

I am in entire and hearty accord with the movement for International Arbitration.

ALCAEUS HOOPER, Esq., Baltimore.

SAMUEL F. HOUSTON, Esq., Philadelphia.

JOHN HOPEWELL, Esq., Prest., Cambridge Trade Ass'n, Cambridge, Mass. :

The time is favorable and the good work must be pushed.

R. D. HAISLIP, Esq., Editor, "Dispatch," Staunton, Va.
Prest. GEORGE HARRIS, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.:

With the objects of the Conference I heartily sympathize.

RICHARD L. HAND, Esq., Elizabethtown, N. Y.:

It is difficult to conceive of anything more important or full of beneficent promise than the work of the National Arbitration Committee, which has my most sincere approval, sympathy and admiration.

HON. OSCAR R. HUNDLEY, Huntsville, Ala.:

My whole heart is with you in the objects sought to be obtained.

CHARLES HARTSHORNE, Esq., Pennsylvania.

D. A. HAYES, Esq., Philadelphia.

HON. FAYETTE HEWITT, Frankfort, Ky.

ROBERT M. HUGHES, Esq., Norfolk, Va.

HON. JOHN FREEMONT HILL, Governor of Maine.

HON. CARTER H. HARRISON, Mayor of Chicago.

(For letter see page 29.)

R. TATE IRVINE, Esq., Big Stone Gap, Va.:

I heartily endorse the purposes of this Conference, and shall always be glad to do anything in my power to promote the ends aimed at.

HON. GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE, Sandy Hill, N. Y.:

I assure you of my hearty sympathy in an immediate and forceful endeavor to secure the negotiation and ratification of a treaty with Great Britain by which certain cases of disagreement, if arising between the two countries, shall be referred to The Hague Tribunal.

MORRIS K. JESUP, Esq., New York City.

JAMES U. JACKSON, Esq., Augusta, Ga.

HON. TOM L. JOHNSON, Mayor of Cleveland.

President EDMUND J. JAMES, LL. D., Northwestern University,
Chicago:

I regard this as a very important matter. I am going to try to organize a local committee, which will assist in stirring up interest in this city for the movement. If I can be of any assistance in the work of the National Committee, I am at your service.

Prest. RICHARD HENRY JESSE, LL. D., University of Missouri,
Columbia, Mo.

CHARLES P. JONES, Esq., Monterey, Va.

Hon. R. H. JEFFREY, Mayor of Columbus, Ohio :

The importance of such a Conference must be appreciated by thinking people throughout the country, and I would consider it a privilege to be present.

Hon. SAMUEL M. JONES, Mayor of Toledo, Ohio :

I most surely am for arbitration, and I am for it so thoroughly that I won't fight
* * * but I won't run ; I will stand.

HERMAN JUSTI, Esq., Chicago.

Prof. WILLIAM JAMES, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Hon. W. M. KAVANAUGH, Judge, Pulaski County, Arkansas :

I am heartily in sympathy with the movement. * * *

DANIEL J. KEEFE, Esq., Detroit, Michigan.

Rt. Rev. WILLIAM J. KENNY, Bishop of Florida :

I trust that the hopes that prompted the call to this meeting will be fully realized.

Prest. WILLIAM F. KING, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.

Hon. MARCUS P. KNOWLTON, Springfield, Mass. :

I have great hopes of a potent influence from this meeting.

Hon. OTTO KIRCHNER, Detroit, Mich. :

The object of the Conference is especially dear to me, and I shall deem it both a pleasure and an honor to do what I can to promote it in every proper way.

SEAMAN A. KNAPP, Esq., Lake Charles, La.

Dr. J. H. KIRKLAND, Chancellor, Vanderbilt University, Nashville,
Tenn.

CHAS. W. KNAPP, Esq., Editor, " Republic," St. Louis, Mo.

Hon. E. W. KRUTTSCHNITT, New Orleans.

Prest. HENRY C. KING, LL. D., Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. :

I need hardly say that I am in the very heartiest sympathy with this whole movement.

HERMANN H. KOHLSAAT, Esq., Editor, " Record-Herald," Chicago.

HON. ERASTUS C. KNIGHT, Mayor of Buffalo :

Personally, I favor the adoption of a treaty between these two nations under which both would resort to The Hague Tribunal for the purpose of adjusting questions not susceptible of diplomatic settlement. I recognize this as one of the most important subjects before the people to-day, and sincerely trust that the coming Conference will result in the accomplishment of another step towards the successful fulfillment of the project.

KANSAS CITY (MO.) BOARD OF TRADE.

The following expression of sympathy was forwarded :

Resolved, That the Board of Trade is in full sympathy and accord with the doctrine of international arbitration and with the efforts and purposes of a National Arbitration Conference, and sends greetings and best wishes for its meeting to be held in the city of Washington, on January 12th.

HON. HORACE H. LURTON, Judge, U. S. Circuit Court, Nashville, Tenn. :

I am in entire sympathy with the objects and purposes of your Committee and should be glad, indeed, to co-operate in any way that is feasible.

HON. J. A. LEMCKE, Indianapolis.

CHARLES T. LASSITER, Esq., Petersburg, Va.

H. D. LAFFERTY, Esq., Roanoke, Va.

WILLIAM M. LADD, Esq., Portland, Oregon :

I am heartily in sympathy with the movement and shall take an interest in the growth of the sentiment which you are developing and endeavor to co-operate as I am able.

HON. R. M. LAFOLLETTE, Governor of Wisconsin.

VICTOR F. LAWSON, Esq., Chicago.

LUNSFORD L. LEWIS, Esq., Richmond, Va.

General STEPHEN D. LEE, Prest., Mississippi Historical Society,
Columbus, Miss.

Los Angeles (Cal.) BOARD OF TRADE.

Expressions of good will were forwarded.

Los Angeles (Cal.) CHAMBER OF COMMERCE :

The President of the Chamber appointed a delegate to attend the Conference.

Little Rock (Ark.) BOARD OF TRADE.

The Board appointed a delegate to the Conference.

GEORGE B. LEIGHTON, Esq., St. Louis, Mo. :

The work you have in mind seems to me to be of high importance, and I trust that for the benefit of future generations and of Anglo-Saxon supremacy it may be accomplished in time.

L. L. LEWIS, Jr., Esq., Buffalo, N. Y.

Hon. SETH LOW, Mayor of New York.

AMOS R. LITTLE, Esq., Philadelphia.

W. H. LANDES, Esq., Staunton, Va.

Hon. JOHN D. LONG, ex-Secretary of the Navy, Hingham, Mass. :

My heart is with you in this good cause.

Hon. WALTER S. LOGAN, New York :

I am in earnest sympathy with the cause.

JAMES M. LYNCH, Esq., Indianapolis.

Hon. ALEXANDER R. LAWTON, Savannah, Ga.

E. G. LEIGH, Esq., Richmond, Va. :

I sympathize most sincerely with the great object the Committee has in view.

Rev. Dr. MCKIM, Washington, D. C.

Hon. J. G. MCCULLOUGH, Governor of Vermont :

I am heartily in favor of the object of the Conference.

Hon. A. J. MONTAGUE, Governor of Virginia :

I earnestly trust that the coming meeting may be even more fruitful of achievements than your former Conferences, and assure you of my poor but sincere concurrence in the objects of your exalted and altruistic undertaking. Rational and enlightened governments can find but few excuses for the settlement of international differences by any other method than arbitration.

Hon. ROBERT M. M'LANE, Mayor of Baltimore.

Hon. AUGUSTUS S. MILLER, Mayor of Providence, R. I.

GEORGE E. MCNEILL, Esq., Boston, Mass.

Dr. ST. CLAIR MCKELWAY, Editor, "Brooklyn Eagle :"

You can rely upon my hearty support of the conclusions and recommendations which the coming Conference will reach on the subject of arbitration.

BERNARD MANN, Esq., Petersburg, Va.

CYRUS H. McCORMICK, Esq., Chicago :

I shall be with you in spirit, and shall be glad to do anything I can to promote the success of the arbitration movement.

Prest. JAMES MACALESTER, Drexel Institute, Philadelphia.

SAMUEL MATHER, Esq., Cleveland, O. :

I am heartily interested in the aims of your Committee.

JOHN G. MILBURN, Esq., Buffalo, N. Y.

GARRET W. McENERNEY, Esq., San Francisco :

I am in hearty sympathy with the objects of the Conference.

EDWARD J. McDERMOTT, Esq., Louisville, Ky. :

I am in sympathy with your plans and I hope you will succeed.

Dr. S. WEIR MITCHELL, Philadelphia.

WYNDHAM R. MEREDITH, Esq., Richmond, Va.

Dean JAMES C. McRAE, LL. D., University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C. :

May I express to the committee my sincere hope that their Conference may advance the good work in which they are engaged and contribute largely to the object they have in view—the treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, and further, to like treaties between all the civilized nations on earth.

W. GORDON McCABE, Esq., Richmond, Va.

MINNEAPOLIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Dr. S. E. MEZES, University of Texas, Austin :

I hope the Conference will be successful, and especially that it may accomplish the immediate object for which it is called.

HON. HENRY G. McBRIDE, Governor of the State of Washington.

HON. WILLIAM A. MILLIKEN, Tennessee :

I assure you of my cordial endorsement of the object of your Conference, and will be only too glad to add my mite in increasing and strengthening its influence towards the final attainment of its noble ends.

HON. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, Mayor of New York.

(For letter see page 28.)

JOHN MITCHELL, Esq., Pres. United Mine Workers of America,
Indianapolis, Ind.

(For letter see page 32.)

W. L. McLEAN, Esq., Editor "Evening Bulletin," Philadelphia.

BEVERLY B. MUNFORD, Esq., Richmond, Va.

Hon. JOHN H. MICKEY, Governor of Nebraska :

I am in hearty sympathy with the objects sought to be attained by the society, and hope that your efforts will be crowned with ultimate success.

T. S. McPHEETERS, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.

ADELBERT MOOT, Esq., Buffalo, N. Y. :

Beyond any doubt, the conviction that international arbitration is the remedy for disputes between civilized nations, has grown enormously since the Olney treaty was defeated, and an intelligent appeal to the country in favor of an international arbitration treaty with Great Britain will be sure to evoke a response from the leading men of all parties and no party, and will set our political leaders to thinking.

Hon. J. R. MORTON, Lexington, Ky. :

I am heartily in sympathy with the purposes of the Conference.

Rt. Rev. HENRY C. MORRISON, Louisville, Ky.

Hon. FRANKLIN MURPHY, Governor of New Jersey.

Dr. LIVINGSTON MIMS, Atlanta :

I can imagine no work more important and valuable to the civilized world, and especially to our own country, than that in which you are engaged.

Rt. Rev. CAMILLUS PAUL MAES, Bishop of Covington, Ky.

I am entirely in accord with your aims and I will rejoice at your every success.

MARSHALL McCORMICK, Esq., Berryville, Va.

E. T. D. MYERS, Esq., Richmond, Va.

GEORGE E. MATTHEWS, Esq., Editor, Buffalo "Express," Buffalo,
N. Y. :

The cause has been one which it has given me great pleasure to advocate in the columns of the "Express," and anything I can do in the matter will be done *con amore*.

Hon. CHARLES F. MANDERSON, Omaha Neb. :

I greatly hope that the effort of the Conference may result in the adoption of the treaty by the Senate.

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL J. NICCOLLS, St. Louis, Mo.

Hon. J. K. M. NORTON, Alexandria, Va.

FRANK B. NOYES, Esq., Editor, Chicago "Record-Herald :"

I am very greatly interested in the success of this movement.

FRANK NELSON, Esq., Rustburg, Va.

Hon. W. C. NOYES, Judge, Court of Common Pleas, New London,
Conn.

ANDREW J. NELLIS, Esq., Albany, N. Y.

Prest. CYRUS NORTHROP, LL. D., University of Minnesota, Minn.

I take great pleasure in saying that I am in hearty sympathy with the purposes of the Arbitration Committee; that I shall at all times take great pleasure in inculcating the "spirit of peace" among the nations, whether it be in the University over which I preside, or outside the University, and that I hope the deliberations of the Conference may be such as to contribute to the extension of the principle of arbitration in the settlement of all international troubles.

DANIEL ROGERS NOYES, Esq., St. Paul, Minn.

VIRGINIUS NEWTON, Esq., Richmond, Va.:

You have the utmost assurance from me that I am a firm believer in the necessity of such submission of international affairs and will do all in my power to aid it.

Rt. Rev. C. KINLOCK NELSON, Bishop of Georgia :

I am extremely interested in the purposes of this Conference.

WILLIAM W. OLD, Esq., Norfolk, Va.:

I am in great sympathy with your efforts, not only to enlarge the sphere of international arbitration, but also to have its principles so strengthened by an enlightened consideration by all the nations as to make them permanent and useful in their application to international controversies.

Hon. B. B. ODELL, Jr., Governor of New York.

(For letter see page 44.)

Hon. RICHARD OLNEY, ex-Secretary of State, Boston.

ROBERT C. OGDEN, Esq., New York.

GEORGE W. OCHS, Esq., Philadelphia.

Hon. JOHN PATTON, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Hon. THOMAS W. PALMER, Detroit, Mich. :

I believe that the agitation of this question will do much towards the success of the object sought to be accomplished, which we all concede is one of deep interest, not only to our country and England, but to all mankind.

ROBERT W. PATTERSON, Esq., "The Chicago Tribune :"

I need not assure you of my sympathies with the purposes of the meeting and my wish to co-operate with your Committee to the fullest extent.

HON. JOHN A. PARDEE, Judge, U. S. Circuit Court, New Orleans :

I am in full sympathy with the object and purposes of the National Arbitration Committee.

WILLIAM PATRICK, Esq., Staunton, Va. :

The subject is one that interests all good citizens, and it would not only give me great pleasure, but I would feel as if I were performing a high duty, if I could contribute in any way to the accomplishment of the desired treaty. If I can at any future time co-operate with you, I shall hold myself ready to do so.

ELLIOTT HUNT PENDLETON, Esq., Cincinnati, O. :

I hope that you will have a most interesting meeting and that it may be influential in bringing about the proposed treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, the two nations that should take the most advanced stand for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful methods.

S. S. P. PATTESON, Esq., Richmond, Va. :

I am interested in the subject as expressed by the late Lord Chief Justice Russell in his address before the American Bar Association at Saratoga, in 1896, which I happened to hear. If I can do so I will try to get in touch with some of the other members and organize a local committee, as suggested by you.

WILLIAM B. PETTIT, Esq., Palmyra, Va. :

I feel, as all patriots must feel, a deep interest in a movement the object of which is to prevent a resort to war—*bella, horrida bella*—for the settlement of international controversies and grievances, or for the vindication of national rights and honor. How incomparably better for humanity and human governments would it be to have all such matters settled by an international arbitration tribunal, such as is proposed, established and supported by treaties between all nations, or, if not all, a sufficient number and of sufficient physical power and resources to make the moral force exerted by them imperative and conclusive upon all.

HON. J. H. PEABODY, Governor of Colorado :

I beg to express to you herewith my hearty sympathy and endorsement of the proposed effort to secure additional force to the principle of settling matters, both local and international, by arbitration, which is the greatest forum in existence for the consideration and just settlement of disputes.

PHILADELPHIA MARITIME EXCHANGE :

After receipt of an invitation to send a delegate to the Conference, the following resolution was passed :

Resolved, that it is the sense of the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange that the public good should be promoted by the adoption of treaties between the United States and other leading countries of the world (and at the present time more particularly with Great Britain) providing, under proper restrictions, for the reference to arbitration of international questions and disputes which shall have failed of settlement through the usual diplomatic means.

PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF TRADE.

(See page 41.)

Hon. ALTON B. PARKER, Chief Judge, Court of Appeals, New York :

The subject is one that interests me greatly.

JOHN FERRIN, Esq., Indianapolis.

DUDLEY L. PICKMAN, Esq., Boston, Mass.

BLISS PERRY, Esq., Editor of the "Atlantic Monthly," Boston.

Hon. SAMUEL PASCO, Monticello, Florida :

Perhaps the time has not yet arrived for such a general treaty, but the advocates of arbitration between nations, when ordinary methods of settling differences have failed, should continue to use their influence in favor of this peaceful method of settlement, whether the difference is between our own country and Great Britain or any other foreign government, and to urge the same method of settlement if the difference is between two foreign nations. Every case thus determined upon just and equitable principles will be a step in the direction of universal peace.

* * *

Hon. GEORGE C. PARDEE, Governor of California.

(For letter see page 45.)

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, Esq., New York.

Prof. CUTHBERT W. POUND, Cornell University.

Hon. FRANK C. PARTRIDGE, Proctor, Vt.

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN, San Francisco.

C. STEWART PATTERSON, Esq., Philadelphia.

Hon. JAMES P. PLATT, Meriden, Conn.

HENRY PICKERING, Esq., Boston.

G. W. PERKINS, Esq., Chicago, Ill.

Hon. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, Governor of Pennsylvania.

PROVIDENCE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE :

(Three delegates were selected to represent the Chamber at the Conference, but owing to pressing duties that could not be postponed, none of these gentlemen were able to be present.) Through the Secretary, the following message was sent: "Permit me to assure you of the interest which this organization takes in the great and beneficent work you have in hand, and to express the hope that your honorable body will permit us later to be present at your deliberations."

CHARLES PAGE, Esq., San Francisco, Cal. :

I feel the warmest sympathy in the cause which has, happily, been espoused by the distinguished gentlemen constituting the National Committee. * * * The Hague Tribunal will be no more difficult of acceptance as an American Court than was the Supreme Court of the United States in the days when the judgments of that Court decided causes between States of the Union which were hardly as well known to each other as are to-day the American Republic and the British Empire.

JOSEPH PULITZER, Esq., Editor, "New York World."

Prest. HENRY S. PRITCHETT, LL. D., Mass. Institute of Technology :

I beg to assure you of my interest in the matter and to say that I shall be glad to further the object of your Conference by any means in my power.

R. L. PARRISH, Esq., Covington, Va.

GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, Esq., Philadelphia.

HON. WILLIAM E. QUINBY, Editor, "The Detroit Free Press."

It is a noble work in which you are engaged, and I trust in the near future, as the result of your good work, "nation shall not lift up sword against nation."

ROBERT RAMSAY, Esq., Baltimore :

I am very much in sympathy with the idea of this Arbitration Conference.

Prest. IRA REMSON, LL. D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore :

I agree with you when you say, "It is of the greatest importance to the future welfare of the United States that the spirit of peace among the nations be inculcated in our highest institutions of learning."

Dean HENRY WADE ROGERS, LL. D., Law Department, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. :

I am glad to know that such a Conference is to be held and that its immediate purpose is to advocate a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain.

HON. U. M. ROSE, Little Rock, Ark.

HARRISON ROBERTSON, Esq., Louisville "Courier-Journal :"

Its object is one that commands my earnest sympathy. I assure you I shall watch its deliberations with much interest, and shall ever be ready to do anything in my power to co-operate with you.

PREST. RUSH RHEES, LL. D., University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. :

I am profoundly interested in the aims of the Conference, and trust that it may further the good cause to the interest of which you are devoted.

CHARLES RICHARDSON, Esq., Philadelphia.

HON. HENRY ROBERTS, Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut.

FRANCIS RAWLE, Esq., Philadelphia.

HON. NASH ROCKWOOD, Saratoga, New York.

HON. WHITELAW REID, New York.

JOHN C. ROSE, Esq., Baltimore.

HON. ADOLPH J. RODENBECK, Rochester, N. Y.

DEAN G. L. REINHARD, LL. D., Indiana University, Ind. :

I am in full sympathy with the purpose of the meeting, and sincerely trust that this and all similar movements may meet with ultimate success.

WILLIAM GORDON ROBERTSON, Esq., Roanoke, Va.

HON. JAMES A. REED, Mayor, Kansas City, Mo.

FRANCIS B. REEVES, Esq., Prest., Girard National Bank, Philadelphia.

HON. WILLIAM C. SPRUANCE, Judge, Supreme Court of Delaware, Wilmington :

I am in full sympathy with the objects of the Conference.

MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE, of St. Louis.

CHAMBER of COMMERCE of San Francisco.

ROBERT E. SCOTT, Esq., Roanoke, Va.

HON. BURTON SMITH, Atlanta, Ga. :

While the daring and courage, mental and physical, of the American people is no whit less than that of their Anglo-Saxon Sea-King Fathers, it is also true that civilization and Christianity make their desire to use their strength for international peace and welfare.

Dr. FRANK STRONG, LL. D., Chancellor, University of Kansas,
Lawrence :

I wish to express my earnest hope for the success of the movement and to say that so far as my observations go I believe it to be true that the accomplishment of the result in question is earnestly desired by the University and the people of Kansas.

ELLISON A. SMITH, Esq., Pelzer, S. C.

GEORGE W. STEVENS, Esq., Prest., C. & O. R.R. Co., Richmond,
Va.

Hon. G. M. SHARP, Justice, Supreme Court, Baltimore, Md. :

I am in intense sympathy with the movement for international arbitration in every form.

Hon. EDGAR A. SPENCER, Justice, Supreme Court of New York :

I have been very much interested in the subject of international arbitration.

MOORFIELD STOREY, Esq., Boston.

SAMUEL R. SHIPLEY, Esq., Philadelphia :

I earnestly desire that the National Committee may succeed in their praiseworthy effort.

EDWARD T. STOTESBURY, Esq., Philadelphia.

Dr. JOSIAH STRONG, Prest., American Institute of Social Service,
New York.

Prest. ISAAC SHARPLESS, LL. D., Haverford College, Pa.

JOHN A. SLEICHER, Esq., Editor, "Leslie's Weekly," New York.

JACOB H. SCHIFF, Esq., New York.

WATSON ROBERTSON SPERRY, Esq., Editor, "Hartford Courant :"

I hope that you and your associates will be able to push a treaty of arbitration through between these two English-speaking nations.

ALBERT SHAW, Esq., Editor, "Review of Reviews," New York.

Hon. JOHN P. STUDLEY, Mayor of New Haven, Conn.

Dr. HOMER B. SPRAGUE, Newton, Mass :

Your work is noble ; the service you are rendering to one of the greatest causes that can concern mankind is magnificent. Would that I were able to aid it effectively.

Pres. J. G. SCHURMAN, LL. D., Cornell University :

The movement now on foot to secure the ratification of an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain, establishing, as it does, a basis for perpetual peace in the Anglo-Saxon world and thus aiming to eliminate all barriers, sentimental or otherwise, which may tend at any time to separate these two kindred peoples, is a most important step forward, and should receive the encouragement and earnest support of every American citizen who has the best interests of his country at heart.

HON. EDWARD M. SHEPARD, New York :

The Conference has my earnest sympathy and good wishes.

HON. HOKE SMITH, Atlanta, Ga. :

I am in deep sympathy with the object of the Conference, and I hope the meeting will be highly successful.

HON. JOHN H. STINESS, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Rhode Island :

No subject is of greater or more timely importance, and no man can contribute more directly to patriotism and philanthropy than in speeding the acceptance of "International Arbitration." It will be to nations what courts are to people. A state of society which does not give to its people a system of courts, where differences may be impartially heard and settled on principles of law and justice, but leaves the decision to force, is simply barbaric, and the same course between nations is none the less so.

HON. EMORY SPEER, Judge, United States Court, Macon, Ga. :

I am strongly convinced of the absolute importance to our country of intensifying and strengthening the sentiments and bonds of kindred which exist between us and the people of Great Britain.

A. H. SAWYER, Esq., Watertown, N. Y.

Rt. Rev. HENRY Y. SATTERLEE, Bishop of Washington, D. C. :

I hope the meeting will be a great success.

Rev. C. ERNEST SMITH, Rector of St. Thomas Church, Washington, D. C.

R. WAVERLY SMITH, Esq., Pres., First National Bank, Galveston, Texas.

HON. PLINY T. SEXTON, Palmyra, N. Y. :

It would have gladdened my heart to testify in person to my sympathy with your noble purpose and to my appreciation of the hopeful efforts being made to relieve the world from the great reproach of the continual possibility of human warfare.

Hon. ROBERT A. SMITH, Mayor of St. Paul, Minn. :

I share in the hope that the results of the Conference will help the race at least one step nearer to the great consummation which you and your distinguished associates aim at.

DOUGLAS H. THOMAS, Esq., Baltimore.

Hon. R. S. TAYLOR, Fort Wayne, Ind. :

The time is opportune and the object one to enlist the cordial sympathy of every thoughtful man. * * * We need all the peace promoting influences we can muster to counteract the war spirit fostered by our navy building and recruiting.

Rev. F. W. TOMKINS, Philadelphia :

I have great hopes in the future of this Arbitration Conference, and I am sure the prayers of many will be answered.

THOS. B. TURLEY, Esq., Memphis, Tenn. :

If the danger of wars between civilized countries can be obviated by international arbitration, it will be a result to be wished for and approved by every good citizen.

Hon. OLIVER P. TEMPLE, Knoxville, Tenn. :

I am heartily in sympathy with the object of said Conference, and trust that it may result in doing much for the cause of arbitration.

Prest. CHARLES F. THWING, LL. D., Western Reserve University,
Adelbert College, Cleveland, O.

Prest. J. M. TAYLOR, LL. D., Vassar College.

R. S. THOMAS, Esq., Smithfield, Va.

Hon. GEORGE TURNER, Spokane, Wash. :

I am heartily in sympathy with the objects of the Conference as I understand them.

Hon. DAVID TORRANCE, Judge, Supreme Court of Errors, Derby,
Conn. :

I heartily wish you all success in your undertaking.

CHARLES H. TAYLOR, Esq., Boston.

JAMES F. TRACY, Esq., Albany, N. Y. :

It is to be hoped that the acceptance of your invitation may be so general as to attest the strong and almost unanimous sentiment of the American people in favor of arbitration as a substitute for war.

ROGER E. TILESTON, Esq., Boston.

HON. JOSEPH K. TOOLE, Governor of Montana.

GATES P. THURSTON, Esq., Nashville, Tenn. :

I need not say that I most heartily approve of the cause and of the proposed method in aid of it. * * * Such action will surely be for the best interests of humanity, and in furtherance of righteous dealing among the nations.

HON. S. R. VAN SANT, Governor of Minnesota.

WARNER VAN NORDEN, Esq., New York.

HON. WM. F. VILAS, Madison, Wis. :

Mr. Vilas assures the committee that his failure to attend the Conference is owing to "no indifference to the proposal, which has my hearty sympathy and would have my co-operation" if circumstances permitted.

HON. CHARLES G. R. VINAL, Secretary of the State of Connecticut.

PREST. FRANCIS P. VENABLE, LL. D., University of North Carolina.

JOSEPH WILLIAMS, Esq., Boston, Mass.

HON. A. B. WHITE, Governor of West Virginia.

PREST. BENJAMIN S. WHEELER, LL. D., University of California :

My interest in the work of the Conference is most cordial.

HON. JOHN WANAMAKER, Philadelphia.

HON. J. J. WILLIAMS, Mayor of Memphis, Tenn.

BARCLAY H. WARBURTON, Esq., Philadelphia.

HON. HEBER M. WELLS, Governor of Utah.

J. ALLEN WATTS, Esq., Roanoke, Va.

HON. LEIGH R. WATTS, Portsmouth, Va.

PREST. WOODROW WILLSON, LL. D., Princeton University.

Mr. Willson had kindly consented to address the Mass Meeting, but was prevented from appearing on account of illness.

EDWARD G. WHITAKER, Esq., New York.

PROFESSOR JAMES M. WILLARD, Principal, Philadelphia Normal School :

I wish you godspeed in your work.

HENRY WATTERSON, Esq., Editor, "Courier-Journal," Louisville, Ky.

MILES WHITE, Jr., Esq., Baltimore.

Prof. JAMES A. WOODBURN, Madison, Wis.

HON. EDMUND WADDILL, Jr., Justice, United States District Court.

JOHN B. WIGHT, Esq., Easton, Pa.

HON. JOS. E. WILLARD, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia.

HON. EDWIN WARFIELD, Governor of Maryland:

I fully sympathize with the object of the Conference.

JOHN S. WILLIAMS, Esq., Richmond, Va. :

It is as much our part and duty in behalf of justice, human happiness, and universal order to submit our disputes and difference with other nations to the arbitration of a high and honorable court, international, wisely constituted, * * * as it is with all our power, property and life to defend our rights, liberties and just claims.

JOHN L. WILLIAMS, Esq., Richmond, Va.

CHARLES R. WILLIAMS, Esq., Editor, "Indianapolis News : "

I sincerely hope that it may result in starting or renewing a train of influences that may speedily bring about the end in view.

HON. JOSEPH A. WADDELL, Staunton, Va.

HERBERT WELSH, Esq., Editor, "City and State," Philadelphia.

THÉODORE WRIGHT, Esq., Editor, "Philadelphia Record."

Rt. Rev. O. W. WHITAKER, Bishop of Diocese of Pennsylvania :

The subject considered is one of the greatest importance and one in which every good citizen should be interested.

HENRY T. WICKHAM, Esq., Richmond, Va.

EDWARD J. WHEELER, Esq., Editor, "Literary Digest," New York.

GEORGE M. WOODRUFF, Esq., Litchfield, Conn.

HON. PETER WHITE, Marquette, Mich.

HON. RICHARD YATES, Governor of Illinois.

SAN FRANCISCO, *December 21, 1903.*

We, the undersigned, believing that disputed questions between nations should be settled in accordance with the principles of justice and of International Law rather than by war, do hereby express our sympathy with the objects of the Conference to be held in Washington, D. C., on January 12, 1904, and our earnest desire for the adoption of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, providing that such questions, whenever it is practicable, shall be referred to The Hague Tribunal for settlement.

PATRICK WILLIAM RIORDAN,
Archbishop of San Francisco.

HORACE DAVIS.

W. H. BEATTY.

GARRETT C. McENERNEY.

F. M. ANGILOTTI.

RALPH C. HARRISON.

WARREN OLNEY.

CHAS. A. MURDOCK.

STEWART R. TAYLOR.

LOUIS LISSER.

JACOB VOORSAND, Esq.,
Rabbi of Temple Emanuel.

JOHN W. HAMILTON,
Bishop of the Meth. Episcopal Church.

ELI T. SHEPPARD.

CHAS. PAGE.

M. C. LEON.

J. M. SEANILL.

BRADFORD LEAVITT.

WILLIAM K. LANE.

FRANK J. SYMMES.

JAS. S. BUNNELL.

F. W. DOHRMANN.

A. F. MORRISON.

SHELDON G. KELLOGG.

APPENDIX.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE, 1899.

THE CZAR'S RESCRIPT.

*Issued by Count Muravieff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs,
on the 24th of August, 1898.*

The maintenance of general peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations present themselves, in the existing condition of the whole world, as the ideal towards which the endeavors of all governments should be directed.

The humanitarian and magnanimous spirit of His Majesty the Emperor, my August Master, is wholly convinced of this view.

In the conviction that this lofty aim is in conformity with the most essential interests and the legitimate wishes of all the Powers, the Imperial Government thinks the present moment would be very favorable for an inquiry, by means of international discussion, as to the most effective means of insuring to all the peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and, above all, of putting a limit to the progressive development of the present armaments.

In the course of the last twenty years, the longings for general appeasement have been particularly marked in the consciousness of the civilized nations. The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy. It is in its name that the Great States have concluded between themselves powerful alliances. It is the better to guarantee peace that they have developed their military forces in proportions hitherto unknown, and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice.

But all these efforts have not yet been able to bring about the beneficent results of the pacification desired.

The financial burdens, constantly increasing, strike at public prosperity at its very source. The intellectual and physical forces of the nations, and their labor and capital are, for the most part, diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are employed in procuring terrible

engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the supreme attainment of science, are sure to-morrow to lose all value because of some new invention in this field. National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are paralyzed or checked in development.

So, too, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, do they less and less fulfil the object which the governments have had in view. Economic crises, due in great part to the system of armament *à outrance*, and the continual danger which lies in this accumulation of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It seems evident that if this state of things continues it will inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, the horrors of which, even in anticipation, cause every thinking man to tremble.

To put an end to these incessant armaments, and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which threaten the whole world, is the supreme duty resting to-day upon all States.

Filled with this idea, His Majesty the Emperor has been pleased to command me to propose to all the governments which have accredited representatives at the Imperial Court the meeting of a conference which shall take into consideration this grave problem.

This conference will be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century now about to open. It will unite, and thus greatly strengthen, the efforts of all those States which sincerely seek to make the great conception of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord. It will, at the same time, cement them together by a joint consecration of the principles of equity and right on which rest the security of States and the welfare of peoples.

The Peace Conference at The Hague met on the 18th of May, 1899, in response to the rescript of the Czar of Russia issued on the 24th of August, 1898. The invitation went to all the States having accredited diplomatic representatives at St. Petersburg; and all of the States invited to the Conference accepted the invitation. There were one hundred members of the Conference. The commissioners from the United States were Hon. Andrew D. White, Hon. Seth Low, Hon. Stanford Newel, Captain Alfred T. Mahan and Captain William Crozier; and the secretary of the commission was Frederick W. Holls. Baron de Staal, the head of the Russian delegation, was elected the president of the Conference. The Conference continued until July 29, when the final act and other documents were signed. The arbitration treaty was signed on July 29 by the representatives of sixteen powers, and was afterwards signed and ratified by all the powers represented at the Conference. The United States Senate ratified it unanimously on February 5, 1900.

THE HAGUE ARBITRATION CONVENTION.

CONVENTION FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES, 1899.

His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia; His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, etc., and Apostolic King of Hungary; His Majesty the King of the Belgians; His Majesty the Emperor of China; His Majesty the King of Denmark; His Majesty the King of Spain, and in his name Her Majesty the Queen-Regent of the Kingdom; the President of the United States of America; the President of the United States of Mexico; the President of the French Republic; Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India; His Majesty the King of the Hellenes; His Majesty the King of Italy; His Majesty the Emperor of Japan; His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Luxemburg, Duke of Nassau; His Highness the Prince of Montenegro; Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands; His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia; His Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves; His Majesty the King of Roumania; His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias; His Majesty the King of Servia; His Majesty the King of Siam; His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway; The Swiss Federal Council; His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans; and his Royal Highness the Prince of Bulgaria:

Animated by a strong desire to concert for the maintenance of the general peace;

Resolved to second by their best efforts the friendly settlement of international disputes;

Recognizing the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations;

Desirous of extending the empire of law, and of strengthening the appreciation of international justice;

Convinced that the permanent institution of a Court of Arbitration, accessible to all, in the midst of the independent Powers, will contribute effectively to this result;

Having regard to the advantages attending the general and regular organization of arbitral procedure;

Sharing the opinion of the august Initiator of the International Peace Conference that it is expedient to solemnly establish, by an international Agreement, the principles of equity and right on which repose the security of States and the welfare of peoples ;

Being desirous of concluding a convention to this effect, have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, to-wit :—

(Names.)

Who, after communication of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions :—

TITLE I.—*On the Maintenance of General Peace.*

ARTICLE I. With a view to obviating, as far as possible, recourse to force in the relations between States, the Signatory Powers agree to use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences.

TITLE II.—*On Good Offices and Mediation.*

ARTICLE II. In case of serious disagreement or conflict, before an appeal to arms, the Signatory Powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

ARTICLE III. Independently of this recourse, the Signatory Powers consider it useful that one or more Powers, strangers to the dispute, should on their own initiative, and as far as circumstances will allow, offer their good offices or mediation to the States at variance.

The right to offer good offices or mediation belongs to Powers who are strangers to the dispute, even during the course of hostilities.

The exercise of this right shall never be regarded by one or the other of the parties to the contest as an unfriendly act.

ARTICLE IV. The part of the mediator consists in reconciling the opposing claims and in appeasing the feelings of resentment which may have arisen between the States at variance.

ARTICLE V. The functions of the mediator are at an end when once it is declared, either by one of the parties to the dispute or by the mediating Power itself, that the methods of conciliation proposed by it are not accepted.

ARTICLE VI. Good offices and mediation, whether at the request of the parties at variance or upon the initiative of Powers who are strangers to the dispute, have exclusively the character of advice, and never have binding force.

ARTICLE VII. The acceptance of mediation cannot, unless there be an agreement to the contrary, have the effect of interrupting, delaying, or hindering mobilization or other measures of preparation for war.

If mediation occurs after the commencement of hostilities, it causes no interruption to the military operations in progress, unless there be an agreement to the contrary.

ARTICLE VIII. The Signatory Powers are agreed in recommending the application when circumstances allow, of special mediation in the following form :—

In case of a serious difference endangering the peace, the States at variance shall each choose a Power, to whom they intrust the mission of entering into direct communication with the Power chosen on the other side, with the object of preventing the rupture of pacific relations.

During the period of this mandate, the term of which, unless otherwise stipulated, cannot exceed thirty days, the States in conflict shall cease from all direct communication on the subject of the dispute, which is regarded as having been referred exclusively to the mediating Powers, who shall use their best efforts to settle the controversy.

In case of a definite rupture of pacific relations, these Powers remain charged with the joint duty of taking advantage of every opportunity to restore peace.

TITLE III.—*On International Commissions of Inquiry.*

ARTICLE IX. In differences of an international nature involving neither honor nor vital interests, and arising from a difference of opinion on matter of fact, the Signatory Powers recommend that parties who have not been able to come to an agreement by diplomatic methods should, as far as circumstances allow, institute an International Commission of Inquiry, to facilitate a solution of the differences by elucidating the facts by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation.

ARTICLE X. International Commissions of Inquiry shall be constituted by a special agreement between the parties to the controversy. The agreement for the inquiry shall specify the facts to be examined and the extent of the powers of the commissioners. It shall fix the procedure. Upon the inquiry both sides shall be heard. The procedure to be observed, if not provided for in the Convention of Inquiry, shall be fixed by the Commission.

ARTICLE XI. The International Commissions of Inquiry shall be formed, unless otherwise stipulated, in the manner fixed by Article XXXII. of the present Convention.

ARTICLE XII. The Powers in dispute agree to supply the International Commission of Inquiry, as fully as they may consider it possible, with all means and facilities necessary to enable it to arrive at a complete acquaintance and correct understanding of the facts in question.

ARTICLE XIII. The International Commission of Inquiry shall present to the parties in dispute its report signed by all the members of the Commission.

ARTICLE XIV. The report of the International Commission of Inquiry shall be limited to a statement of the facts, and shall in no way have the character of an arbitral award. It leaves the Powers in controversy freedom as to the effect to be given to such statement.

TITLE IV.—*On International Arbitration.*

CHAPTER I.—*On Arbitral Justice.*

ARTICLE XV. International arbitration has for its object the determination of controversies between States by judges of their own choice, upon the basis of respect for law.

ARTICLE XVI. In questions of a judicial character, and especially in questions regarding the interpretation or application of international treaties or conventions, arbitration is recognized by the Signatory Powers as the most efficacious and at the same time the most equitable method of deciding controversies which have not been settled by diplomatic methods.

ARTICLE XVII. An agreement of arbitration may be made with reference to disputes already existing or those which may

hereafter arise. It may relate to every kind of controversy or solely to controversies of a particular character.

ARTICLE XVIII. The agreement of arbitration implies the obligation to submit in good faith to the decision of the arbitral tribunal.

ARTICLE XIX. Independently of existing general or special treaties imposing the obligation to have recourse to arbitration on the part of any of the Signatory Powers, these Powers reserve to themselves the right to conclude, either before the ratification of the present Convention, or subsequent to that date, new agreements, general or special, with a view of extending the obligation to submit controversies to arbitration, to all cases which they consider suitable for such submission.

CHAPTER II.—*On the Permanent Court of Arbitration.*

ARTICLE XX. With the object of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences which could not be settled by diplomatic methods, the Signatory Powers undertake to organize a permanent Court of Arbitration accessible at all times, and acting, unless otherwise stipulated by the parties, in accordance with the rules of procedure included in the present Convention.

ARTICLE XXI. The permanent Court shall have jurisdiction of all cases of arbitration, unless there shall be an agreement between the parties for the establishment of a special tribunal.

ARTICLE XXII. An International Bureau shall be established at The Hague, and shall serve as the record office for the Court. This Bureau shall be the medium of all communications relating to the Court. It shall have the custody of the archives, and shall conduct all the administrative business. The Signatory Powers agree to furnish the Bureau at The Hague with a certified copy of every agreement of arbitration arrived at between them, and of any award therein rendered by a special tribunal. They also undertake to furnish the Bureau with the laws, rules, and documents, eventually declaring the execution of the judgments rendered by the Court.

ARTICLE XXIII. Within three months following the ratification of the present act, each Signatory Power shall select not more than four persons, of recognized competence in questions

of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators. The persons thus selected shall be enrolled as members of the Court, upon a list which shall be communicated by the Bureau to all the Signatory Powers. Any alteration in the list of arbitrators shall be brought to the knowledge of the Signatory Powers by the Bureau. Two or more Powers may unite in the selection of one or more members of the Court. The same person may be selected by different powers. The members of the Court shall be appointed for a term of six years, and their appointment may be renewed. In case of the death or resignation of a member of the Court, his place shall be filled in accordance with the method of his appointment.

ARTICLE XXIV. Whenever the Signatory Powers wish to have recourse to the permanent Court for the settlement of a difference that has arisen between them, the arbitrators selected to constitute the Tribunal which shall have jurisdiction to determine such difference, shall be chosen from the general list of members of the Court. If such arbitral Tribunal be not constituted by the special agreement of the parties, it shall be formed in the following manner: Each party shall name two arbitrators, and these together shall choose an umpire. If the votes shall be equal, the choice of the umpire shall be intrusted to a third Power selected by the parties by common accord. If an agreement is not arrived at on this subject, each party shall select a different Power, and the choice of the umpire shall be made by the united action of the Powers thus selected. The Tribunal being thus constituted, the parties shall communicate to the Bureau their decision to have recourse to the Court, and the names of the arbitrators. The Tribunal of arbitration shall meet at the time fixed by the parties. The members of the Court, in the discharge of their duties, and outside of their own country, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

ARTICLE XXV. The Court of Arbitration shall ordinarily sit at the Hague. Except in cases of necessity, the place of session shall be changed by the Court only with the assent of the parties.

ARTICLE XXVI. The International Bureau at The Hague is authorized to put its offices and its staff at the disposal of the Signatory Powers, for the performance of the duties of any special tribunal of arbitration. The jurisdiction of the permanent

Court may be extended, under conditions prescribed by its rules, to controversies existing between Non-signatory Powers, or between Signatory Powers and Non-signatory Powers, if the parties agree to submit to its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE XXVII. The Signatory Powers consider it their duty, in case a serious dispute threatens to break out between two or more of them, to remind these latter that the permanent Court of arbitration is open to them. Consequently, they declare that the fact of reminding the parties in controversy of the provisions of the present Convention, and the advice given to them, in the higher interests of peace, to have recourse to the permanent Court, can only be considered as an exercise of good offices.

ARTICLE XXVIII. A permanent administrative Council composed of the diplomatic representatives of the Signatory Powers accredited to The Hague, and of the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, who shall act as President, shall be constituted in that city as soon as possible after the ratification of the present Act by at least nine Powers. This Council shall be charged with the establishment and organization of the International Bureau, which shall remain under its direction and control. It shall notify the Powers of the constitution of the Court and provide for its installation. It shall make its own by-laws, and all other necessary regulations. It shall decide all questions of administration which may arise with regard to the operations of the Court. It shall have entire control over the appointment, suspension, or dismissal of officials and employees of the Bureau. It shall determine their allowances and salaries, and control the general expenditure. At meetings duly summoned five members shall constitute a quorum. All decisions shall be made by a majority of votes. The Council shall communicate to each Signatory Power without delay the by-laws and regulations adopted by it. It shall furnish them with a signed report of the proceedings of the Court, the working of the administration, and the expenses.

ARTICLE XXIX. The expense of the Bureau shall be borne by the Signatory Powers in the proportion established for the International Bureau of the International Postal Union.

CHAPTER III.—*On Arbitral Procedure.*

ARTICLE XXX. With a view to encouraging the development of arbitration, the Signatory Powers have agreed on the following rules which shall be applicable to the arbitral procedure, unless the parties have agreed upon different regulations.

ARTICLE XXXI. The Powers which resort to arbitration shall sign a special act (*compromis*), in which the subject of the difference shall be precisely defined, as well as the extent of the powers of the arbitrators. This act implies an agreement by each party to submit in good faith to the award.

ARTICLE XXXII. The duties of arbitrator may be conferred upon one arbitrator alone, or upon several arbitrators selected by the parties, as they please, or chosen by them from the members of the permanent Court of Arbitration established by the present act. Failing the constitution of the Tribunal by direct agreement between the parties, it shall be formed in the following manner:—

Each party shall appoint two arbitrators, and these shall together choose an umpire. In case of an equal division of votes the choice of the umpire shall be entrusted to a third Power to be selected by the parties by common accord. If no agreement is arrived at on this point, each party shall select a different Power, and the choice of the umpire shall be made by agreement between the Powers thus selected.

ARTICLE XXXIII. When a Sovereign or Chief of State shall be chosen for an arbitrator, the arbitral procedure shall be determined by him.

ARTICLE XXXIV. The umpire shall preside over the Tribunal. When the Tribunal does not include an umpire, it shall appoint its own presiding officer.

ARTICLE XXXV. In case of the death, resignation, or absence for any cause, of one of the arbitrators, the place shall be filled in the manner provided for his appointment.

ARTICLE XXXVI. The parties shall designate the place where the Tribunal is to sit. Failing such a designation, the Tribunal shall sit at The Hague. The place of session thus determined shall not, except in the case of overwhelming necessity, be changed by the Tribunal without the consent of the parties.

ARTICLE XXXVII. The parties shall have the right to appoint agents or attorneys to represent them before the Tribunal, and to serve as intermediaries between them and it.

They are also authorized to employ for the defence of their rights and interests before the Tribunal counsellors or solicitors named by them for that purpose.

ARTICLE XXXVIII. The Tribunal shall decide upon the choice of languages used by itself or to be authorized for use before it.

ARTICLE XXXIX. As a general rule, the arbitral procedure shall comprise two distinct phases,—preliminary examination and discussion. Preliminary examination shall consist in the communication by the respective agents to the members of the Tribunal and to the opposite party, of all printed or written acts, and of all documents containing the arguments to be invoked in the case. This communication shall be made in the form and within the period fixed by the Tribunal, in accordance with Article XLIX.

The discussion shall consist in the oral development before the Tribunal of the argument of the parties.

ARTICLE XL. Every document produced by one party must be communicated to the other party.

ARTICLE XLI. The discussions shall be under the direction of the President. They shall be public only in case it shall be so decided by the Tribunal, with the assent of the parties. They shall be recorded in the official minutes drawn up by the Secretaries appointed by the President. These official minutes alone shall have an authentic character.

ARTICLE XLII. When the preliminary examination is concluded, the Tribunal may refuse admission of all new acts or documents, which one party may desire to submit to it, without the consent of the other party.

ARTICLE XLIII. The Tribunal may take into consideration such new acts or documents to which its attention may be drawn by the agents or counsel of the parties. In this case the Tribunal shall have the right to require the production of these acts or documents, but it is obliged to make them known to the opposite party.

ARTICLE XLIV. The Tribunal may also require from the

agents of the party the production of all papers, and may demand all necessary explanations. In case of refusal the Tribunal shall take note of the fact.

ARTICLE XLV. The agent and counsel of the parties are authorized to present orally to the Tribunal all the arguments which they may think expedient in support of their cause.

ARTICLE XLVI. They shall have the right to raise objections and to make incidental motions. The decisions of the Tribunal on these points shall be final, and shall not form the subject of any subsequent discussion.

ARTICLE XLVII. The members of the Tribunal shall have the right to put questions to the agents or counsel of the parties and to demand explanations from them on doubtful points. Neither the questions put nor the remarks made by members of the Tribunal during the discussion or argument shall be regarded as an expression of opinion by the Tribunal in general, or by its members in particular.

ARTICLE XLVIII. The Tribunal is authorized to determine its own jurisdiction, by interpreting the agreement of arbitration or other treaties which may be quoted in point and by the application of the principles of international law.

ARTICLE XLIX. The Tribunal shall have the right to make rules of procedure for the direction of the trial to determine the form and the periods in which parties must conclude the argument, and to prescribe all the formalities regulating the admission of evidence.

ARTICLE L. The agents and the counsel of the parties having presented all the arguments and evidence in support of their case, the President shall declare the hearing closed.

ARTICLE LI. The deliberations of the Tribunal shall take place with closed doors. Every decision shall be made by a majority of the members of the Tribunal. The refusal of any member to vote shall be noted in the official minutes.

ARTICLE LII. The award shall be made by a majority of votes, and shall be accompanied by a statement of the reasons upon which it is based. It must be drawn up in writing and signed by each of the members of the Tribunal. Those members who are in the minority may, in signing, state their dissent.

ARTICLE LIII. The award shall be read in a public sitting of

the Tribunal, the agents and counsel of the litigants being present or having been duly summoned.

ARTICLE LIV. The award duly pronounced and notified to the agents of the parties in litigation shall decide the dispute finally and without appeal.

ARTICLE LV. The parties may reserve in the agreement of arbitration the right to demand a rehearing of the case. In this case, and in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary, the demand shall be addressed to the Tribunal which has pronounced the judgment; but it shall be based only on the discovery of new facts, of such a character as to exercise a decisive influence upon the judgment, and which at the time of the judgment were unknown to the Tribunal itself and to the parties demanding the rehearing. The proceedings for a rehearing can only be begun by a decision of the Tribunal stating expressly the existence of the new fact and recognizing that it possesses the character described in the preceding paragraph, and declaring that the demand is admissible on that ground. The agreement of arbitration shall determine the time within which the demand for a rehearing shall be made.

ARTICLE LVI. The award shall be obligatory only upon the parties who have concluded the arbitration agreement. When there is a question of the interpretation of an agreement entered into by other Powers besides the parties in litigation, the parties to the dispute shall notify the other Powers which have signed the agreement, of the special agreement which they have concluded. Each one of these Powers shall have the right to take part in the proceedings. If one or more among them avail themselves of this permission, the interpretation in the judgment becomes obligatory upon them also.

ARTICLE LVII. Each party shall bear its own expenses and an equal part of the expenses of the Tribunal.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE LVIII. The present Convention shall be ratified with as little delay as possible. The ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague. An official report of each ratification shall be made, a certified copy of which shall be sent through diplo-

matic channels to all the Powers represented in the Peace Conference at The Hague.

ARTICLE LIX. The Powers which were represented at the International Peace Conference, but which have not signed this Convention, may become parties to it. For this purpose they will make known to the Contracting Powers their adherence by means of a written notification addressed to all the other Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE LX. The conditions under which Powers not represented in the International Peace Conference may become adherents to the present Convention shall be determined hereafter by agreement between the Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE LXI. If one of the High Contracting Parties shall give notice of a determination to withdraw from the present Convention, this notification shall have its effect only after it has been made in writing to the Government of the Netherlands and communicated by it immediately to all the other Contracting Powers. This notification shall have no effect except for the Power which has made it.

In faith of which the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and affixed their seals to it.

Done at The Hague, the 29th July, 1899, in a single copy, which shall remain in the archives of the Netherland Government, and copies of it, duly certified, be sent through the diplomatic channel to the Contracting Powers.

(Signatures.)

UNRATIFIED ARBITRATION TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

*Message from the President of the United States, transmitting
a treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the
arbitration of matters in difference between the two countries,
signed at Washington, January 11, 1897.*

To the Senate :

I transmit herewith a treaty for the arbitration of all matters in difference between the United States and Great Britain.

The provisions of the treaty are the result of long and patient deliberation and represent concessions made by each party for the sake of agreement upon the general scheme.

Though the result reached may not meet the views of the advocates of immediate, unlimited, and irrevocable arbitration of all international controversies, it is, nevertheless, confidently believed that the treaty can not fail to be everywhere recognized as making a long step in the right direction, and as embodying a practical working plan by which disputes between the two countries will reach a peaceful adjustment as matter of course and in ordinary routine.

In the initiation of such an important movement it must be expected that some of its features will assume a tentative character looking to a further advance; and yet it is apparent that the treaty which has been formulated not only makes war between the parties to it a remote possibility, but precludes those fears and rumors of war which of themselves too often assume the proportions of national disaster.

It is eminently fitting as well as fortunate that the attempt to accomplish results so beneficent should be initiated by kindred peoples, speaking the same tongue and joined together by all the ties of common traditions, common institutions, and common aspirations. The experiment of substituting civilized methods for brute force as the means of settling international questions of right will thus be tried under the happiest auspices. Its success ought not to be doubtful, and the fact that its ultimate ensu-

ing benefits are not likely to be limited to the two countries immediately concerned should cause it to be promoted all the more eagerly. The examples set and the lesson furnished by the successful operation of this treaty are sure to be felt and taken to heart sooner or later by other nations, and will thus mark the beginning of a new epoch in civilization.

Profoundly impressed as I am, therefore, by the promise of transcendent good which this treaty affords, I do not hesitate to accompany its transmission with an expression of my earnest hope that it may commend itself to the favorable consideration of the Senate.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *January 11, 1897.*

THE TREATY.

The United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being desirous of consolidating the relations of Amity which so happily exist between them and of consecrating by Treaty the principle of International Arbitration, have appointed for that purpose as their respective Plenipotentiaries :

The President of the United States of America, the Honourable Richard Olney, Secretary of State of the United States ; and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Sir Julian Pauncefote, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath and of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George and Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States,

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective Full Powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed to and concluded the following articles :

ARTICLE I.

The High Contracting Parties agree to submit to Arbitration in accordance with the provisions and subject to the limitations

of this Treaty all questions in difference between them which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation.

ARTICLE II.

All pecuniary claims or groups of pecuniary claims which do not in the aggregate exceed £100,000 in amount, and which do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with and decided by an Arbitral Tribunal constituted as provided in the next following Article.

In this Article and in Article IV the words "groups of pecuniary claims" mean pecuniary claims by one or more persons arising out of the same transactions or involving the same issues of law and of fact.

ARTICLE III.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall nominate one arbitrator who shall be a jurist of repute and the two arbitrators so nominated shall within two months of the date of their nomination select an umpire. In case they shall fail to do so within the limit of time above mentioned, the umpire shall be appointed by agreement between the Members for the time being of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Members for the time being of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain each nominating body acting by majority. In case they shall fail to agree upon an umpire within three months of the date of an application made to them in that behalf by the High Contracting Parties or either of them, the umpire shall be selected in the manner provided for in Article X.

The person so selected shall be the President of the Tribunal and the award of the majority of the Members thereof shall be final.

ARTICLE IV.

All pecuniary claims or groups of pecuniary claims which shall exceed £100,000 in amount and all other matters in difference, in respect of which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have rights against the other under Treaty or otherwise, provided that such matters in difference do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with and decided by an Arbitral Tribunal, constituted as provided in the next following Article.

ARTICLE V.

Any subject of Arbitration described in Article IV shall be submitted to the Tribunal provided for by Article III, the award of which Tribunal, if unanimous, shall be final. If not unanimous either of the High Contracting Parties may within six months from the date of the award demand a review thereof. In such case the matter in controversy shall be submitted to an Arbitral Tribunal consisting of five jurists of repute, no one of whom shall have been a member of the Tribunal whose award is to be reviewed and who shall be selected as follows, viz: two by each of the High Contracting Parties and, one to act as umpire, by the four thus nominated and to be chosen within three months after the date of their nomination. In case they shall fail to choose an umpire within the limit of time above-mentioned, the umpire shall be appointed by agreement between the Nominating Bodies designated in Article III acting in the manner therein provided. In case they shall fail to agree upon an umpire within three months of the date of an application made to them in that behalf by the High Contracting Parties or either of them, the umpire shall be selected in the manner provided for in Article X.

The person so selected shall be the President of the Tribunal and the award of the majority of the members thereof shall be final.

ARTICLE VI.

Any controversy which shall involve the determination of territorial claims shall be submitted to a Tribunal composed of six members three of whom (subject to the provisions of Article VIII) shall be Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States or Justices of the Circuit Courts to be nominated by the President of the United States, and the other three of whom, (subject to the provisions of Article VIII) shall be Judges of the British Supreme Court of Judicature or Members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to be nominated by Her Britannic Majesty, whose award by a majority of not less than five to one shall be final. In case of an award made by less than the prescribed majority, the award shall also be final unless either Power shall, within three months after the award has been re-

ported protest that the same is erroneous, in which case the award shall be of no validity.

In the event of an award made by less than the prescribed majority and protested as above provided, or if the members of the Arbitral Tribunal shall be equally divided, there shall be no recourse to hostile measures of any description until the mediation of one or more friendly Powers has been invited by one or both of the High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE VII.

Objections to the jurisdiction of an Arbitral Tribunal constituted under this Treaty shall not be taken except as provided in this Article.

If before the close of the hearing upon a claim submitted to an Arbitral Tribunal constituted under Article III or Article V either of the High Contracting Parties shall move such Tribunal to decide, and thereupon it shall decide that the determination of such claim necessarily involves the decision of a disputed question of principle of grave general importance affecting the national rights of such party as distinguished from the private rights whereof it is merely the international representative, the jurisdiction of such Arbitral Tribunal over such claim shall cease and the same shall be dealt with by arbitration under Article VI.

ARTICLE VIII.

In cases where the question involved is one which concerns a particular State or Territory of the United States, it shall be open to the President of the United States to appoint a judicial officer of such State or Territory to be one of the Arbitrators under Article III or Article V or Article VI.

In like manner in cases where the question involved is one which concerns a British Colony or possession, it shall be open to Her Britannic Majesty to appoint a judicial officer of such Colony or possession to be one of the Arbitrators under Article III or Article V or Article VI.

ARTICLE IX.

Territorial claims in this Treaty shall include all claims to territory and all claims involving questions of servitudes, rights of

navigation and of access, fisheries and all rights and interests necessary to the control and enjoyment of the territory claimed by either of the High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE X.

If in any case the nominating bodies designated in Articles III and V shall fail to agree upon an Umpire in accordance with the provisions of the said Articles, the Umpire shall be appointed by His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway.

Either of the High Contracting Parties, however, may at any time give notice to the other that, by reason of material changes in conditions as existing at the date of this Treaty, it is of opinion that a substitute for His Majesty should be chosen either for all cases to arise under the Treaty or for a particular specified case already arisen, and thereupon the High Contracting Parties shall at once proceed to agree upon such substitute to act either in all cases to arise under the Treaty or in the particular case specified as may be indicated by said notice; provided, however, that such notice shall have no effect upon an Arbitration already begun by the constitution of an Arbitral Tribunal under Article III.

The High Contracting Parties shall also at once proceed to nominate a substitute for His Majesty in the event that His Majesty shall at any time notify them of his desire to be relieved from the functions graciously accepted by him under this Treaty either for all cases to arise thereunder or for any particular specified case already arisen.

ARTICLE XI.

In case of the death, absence or incapacity to serve of any Arbitrator or Umpire, or in the event of any Arbitrator or Umpire omitting or declining or ceasing to act as such, another Arbitrator or Umpire shall be forthwith appointed in his place and stead in the manner provided for with regard to the original appointment.

ARTICLE XII.

Each Government shall pay its own agent and provide for the proper remuneration of the counsel employed by it and of the

Arbitrators appointed by it and for the expense of preparing and submitting its case to the Arbitral Tribunal. All other expenses connected with any Arbitration shall be defrayed by the two Governments in equal moieties.

Provided, however, that, if in any case the essential matter of difference submitted to arbitration is the right of one of the High Contracting Parties to receive disavowals of or apologies for acts or defaults of the other not resulting in substantial pecuniary injury, the Arbitral Tribunal finally disposing of the said matter shall direct whether any of the expenses of the successful party shall be borne by the unsuccessful party, and if so to what extent.

ARTICLE XIII.

The time and place of meeting of an Arbitral Tribunal and all arrangements for the hearing and all questions of procedure shall be decided by the Tribunal itself.

Each Arbitral Tribunal shall keep a correct record of its proceedings and may appoint and employ all necessary officers and agents.

The decision of the Tribunal shall, if possible, be made within three months from the close of the arguments on both sides.

It shall be made in writing and dated and shall be signed by the Arbitrators who may assent to it.

The decision shall be in duplicate, one copy whereof shall be delivered to each of the High Contracting Parties through their respective agents.

ARTICLE XIV.

This Treaty shall remain in force for five years from the date at which it shall come into operation, and further until the expiration of twelve months after either of the High Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same.

ARTICLE XV.

The present Treaty shall be duly ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Britannic Majesty ;

and the mutual exchange of ratifications shall take place in Washington or in London within six months of the date hereof or earlier if possible.

In faith whereof, we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this Treaty and have hereunto affixed our seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington, the 11th day of January, 1897.

RICHARD OLNEY. [L. s.]

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE. [L. s.]

ANGLO-FRENCH TREATY OF 1903.

Translation.

The Government of the French Republic, and the Government of H. B. Majesty, signatories of the Convention for the pacific settlement of International disputes, concluded at The Hague, July 29, 1899,

Considering that by Article 19 of this Convention, the High Contracting Parties reserved to themselves the conclusion of agreements in view of recourse to arbitration in all cases which they judged capable of submission to it,

Have authorized the undersigned to agree as follows :

ARTICLE I.

Differences of a judicial order, or relative to the interpretation of existing treaties between the two Contracting Parties, which may rise, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be submitted to the permanent Court of Arbitration established by the Convention of July 29, 1899, at The Hague, on condition, however, that neither the vital interests, nor the independence or honour of the two Contracting States, nor the interests of any State other than the two Contracting States, are involved.

ARTICLE II.

In each particular case the High Contracting Parties, before addressing themselves to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, shall sign a special undertaking determining clearly the subject of dispute, the extent of the Arbitral powers and the details to be observed in the constitution of the Arbitral Tribunal and the procedure.

ARTICLE III.

The present arrangement is concluded for a duration of five years from the date of signature.

London, October 14, 1903.

CAMBON,
LANSDOWNE.

Treaties identical with the above Anglo-French Treaty have been concluded between France and Italy, France and Spain, and Great Britain and Spain.

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